THE SURVEY

GRAPHIC NUMBER

30 Cents a Copy
$ 5.00 a Year

AUGUST 1, 1923

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Millions of American women voted for President in 1920 and are finding time to take active interest in civic affairs

The suffrage and the switch

Woman suffrage made the American woman the political equal of her man. The little switch which commands the great servant Electricity is making her workshop the equal of her man's.

No woman should be required to perform by hand domestic tasks which can be done by small electric motors which operate household devices.

The General Electric Company is working side by side with your local electric light and power company to help lift drudgery from the shoulders of women as well as of men.

GENERAL ELECTRIC

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SURVEY ASSOCIATES, Inc.

SURVEY GRAPHIC
Monthly

An illustrated magazine of social exploration, reaching out to wherever the tides of generous progress are astir. Subscription,

$3 a year

PUBLISHERS
112 EAST 19 STREET, NEW YORK CITY
Editor: PAUL U. KELLOGG
Associate Editors
BRUNO LASKER — HAVEN EMERSON, M.D.
JOSEPH K. HART — NEVA R. DEARDORFF
GEDDES SMITH — ROBERT W. BRUÈRE
HANNAH WHITE CATLIN
Contributing Editors
EDWARD T. DEVINE — GRAHAM TAYLOR
JANE ADDAMS — FLORENCE KELLEY
GRAHAM R. TAYLOR — JOHN A. FITCH
WINTHROP D. LANE — WILLIAM L. CHENERY
ARTHUR GLEASON — MICHAEL M. DAVIS, JR.
RUTH CRAWFORD — MARY ROSS
MARTHA BENSLEY BRUÈRE
President: ROBERT W. DEFOREST
Vice-Presidents
JULIAN W. MACK — V. EVERIT MACY
Secretary: ANN REED BRENNER
Treasurer: ARTHUR KELLOGG

THE SURVEY
Twice-a-Month

A journal of social, civic and industrial welfare and the public health. Subscription, including the twelve Graphic numbers

$5 a year

Vol. L, No. 9 — The Survey : Graphic Number — August 1, 1923

JOHN COLLIER is executive secretary of the American Indian Defense Association and a member of Secretary Work's Advisory Committee of One Hundred on Indian Affairs. In a previous article, in Survey Graphic for October, 1922, he described the living cultural heritage of the Pueblo Indians which a great national movement is now under way to save.

THE photographs of Pueblo Indians on the cover and pp. 466, 470, 471, 474, 475 of this issue are by Roger Daniels, a New York artist lately returned from an extended trip through the Southwest.

E. C. LINDEMAN'S address at the National Conference of Social Work was one of the outstanding contributions to constructive thinking. He was lately professor of sociology at the North Carolina State University and is at present engaged in an important piece of social research. Mr. Lindeman is not, as the Bulletin of the Pan-American Union mistakenly states, on the editorial staff of The Survey, but an always welcome contributor.

DON D. LESCOHIER, in the present issue, follows the wheat harvest north after having, last month, described its human significance in the Southwest. An official of the United States Department of Agriculture, in announcing the publication of three pamphlets which will contain Professor Lescohier's detailed reports on his investigations (see page 504), comments on the value of the first article and of the pictures accompanying it.

CONTENTS

INDIAN PORTRAITS
Photographs by Roger Daniels 466

THE AMERICAN CONGO . . . *John Collier* 467

NEXT WINTER'S COAL . . *Robert W. Brùere* 477

OUR SELF-AMENDING CONSTITUTION
Rev. John A. Ryan, D. D. 480

HARVESTERS AND HOBOES IN THE WHEAT FIELDS . *Don D. Lescohier* 482

NEIGHBORS TO ETNA *Lilian Marchant Skinner* 488

INDUSTRIAL TECHNIQUE AND SOCIAL ETHICS . . . . *E. C. Lindeman* 492

NEIGHBORS 496

EDITORIALS 499

ARTHUR KELLOGG, *Business Manager*
JOHN D. KENDERDINE, *Extension Manager*
MARY R. ANDERSON, *Advertising*
MOLLIE CONDON, *Field Representative*

Published semi-monthly and copyright 1923 *by* SURVEY ASSOCIATES, INC., 112 *East* 19 *Street, New York.*

Price: This issue, 30 cents a copy; $5 a year; Canadian postage 50 cents; foreign postage, $1.00 extra. Changes of address should be mailed us two weeks in advance. When payment is by check a receipt will be sent only upon request.

Entered as second-class matter, March 25, 1909, at the post office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at a special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on June 26, 1918.

LILIAN MARCHANT SKINNER was one of the early workers in the college settlement and, after working for a time with Octavia Hill in London, became a manager of tenement houses in Philadelphia. Her studies of Italians in America, started in her home town, Westfield, N.Y., were continued with a fellowship of the University of Pennsylvania and as a field agent of the Congressional Immigration Commission. She has lived among Italians in Boston, Rhode Island and New York City and has recently returned from Italy and Sicily where she visited the small towns and more remote provinces from which most of our immigrants come.

THE REV. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D., director of the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Council, has been a pioneer in the minimum wage movement. He has combated socialism with one hand and with the other promoted industrial legislation for the protection of women and children and the humanization of industrial conditions generally. By taking and reading the United States constitution seriously, Father Ryan has made an important discovery.

ROBERT W. BRUÈRE is an associate editor of The Survey and director of the Bureau of Industrial Research. His book, The Coming of Coal, is used by many school and college classes and church discussion groups as an introduction to the understanding of the national coal situation on which the report of the Coal Commission, which he reviews in this issue, throws additional light.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Copyright Roger Daniels

From sunrise to long after dusk this Isleta woman sits on a box displaying her wares to passing tourists

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SURVEY
GRAPHIC NUMBER

AUGUST
1923

Volume L
No. 9

The American Congo

By JOHN COLLIER

A SAGE Greek historian wrote: "A civilization knows itself only in dying." The civilization of the Pueblo Indian, which represents the civilization of the Red Indian race, is confronting death. This menace of death has come in dramatic form, as a death thrust upon a victim from the outside and not as a death from slow unconscious decay.

In an article dealing with Taos pueblo, published in Survey Graphic for October, 1922, I asked the question: "Can these archaic pueblos become conscious of themselves in relationship to the Great Society? Can they make good in an effort at social adaptation, with the conscious aim that what is great and profound in their archaic life may live on?" And in that article I answered, "Yes; but on condition that the government helps them—on condition that a new spirit and new scientific method are applied by the Bureau of Indian Affairs."

The Pueblos themselves have given the answer, and it is Yes. At least, they have started convincingly to give it. But the cause has been different from that which I suggested in this earlier article as a gain to be distantly hoped for. Not because the government has adopted wisdom and has tried to save the Pueblos, but because the government with sudden ferocity has sought to destroy them: in the face of this condition the Pueblos have become conscious and have started to save themselves. And their effort has brought the whole question of the Indian before the public in a new light and has marked a turning-point in the history of Indians and of the government's Indian administration.

Before telling briefly a story that will amaze some readers, I wish to say that nothing which follows implies a criticism, even indirect, of the present secretary of the interior, Dr. Hubert N. Work. Nor is it my aim here to criticize the Hon. Charles H. Burke, commissioner of Indian Affairs, or Edgar B. Merrit, assistant commissioner of the Indian Bureau. These last-named officials have done what their predecessors in office frequently have done; they have done what Congress heretofore has expected Indian commissioners to do and what in years gone by the American people have expected them to do. They have continued to execute an ancient and lamentable tradition, but they have not originated it.

What is that ancient and still dominant tradition —a tradition for which the whole nation is responsible? Very briefly stated it is:

1. To diminish progressively the Indian land holdings;

2. To attack and destroy, by direct and indirect means, by force and persuasion, the culture, the spiritual life and civilization of the Indians;

3. To keep the Indian naked of those privileges which develop manhood and citizenship: the privilege of making one's own decisions, of acting in groups and of joining in the making of policies affecting the common life; succinctly, liberty and democracy;

4. To join with this autocratic control over the Indian's personal life and property, a monopoly of control by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, to the exclusion of the other departments of government:

5. To execute all of the above policy by two techniques: The first technique is an enormous employed force, who administer a uniform system by a uniform routine regardless of the immense divergency among the Indian tribes. The second technique is the control, by the bureaucracy, of the committees of Congress having to do with the Indian; Congress itself acting by a tradition that Indian questions are local questions, which means questions to be mainly determined by congressmen who represent constituencies hostile

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The governor of Cochiti pueblo (left) and of San Domingo, most "primitive" of all the pueblos

to the non-voting and tax-exempt Indians and friendly with exploiting local white interests.

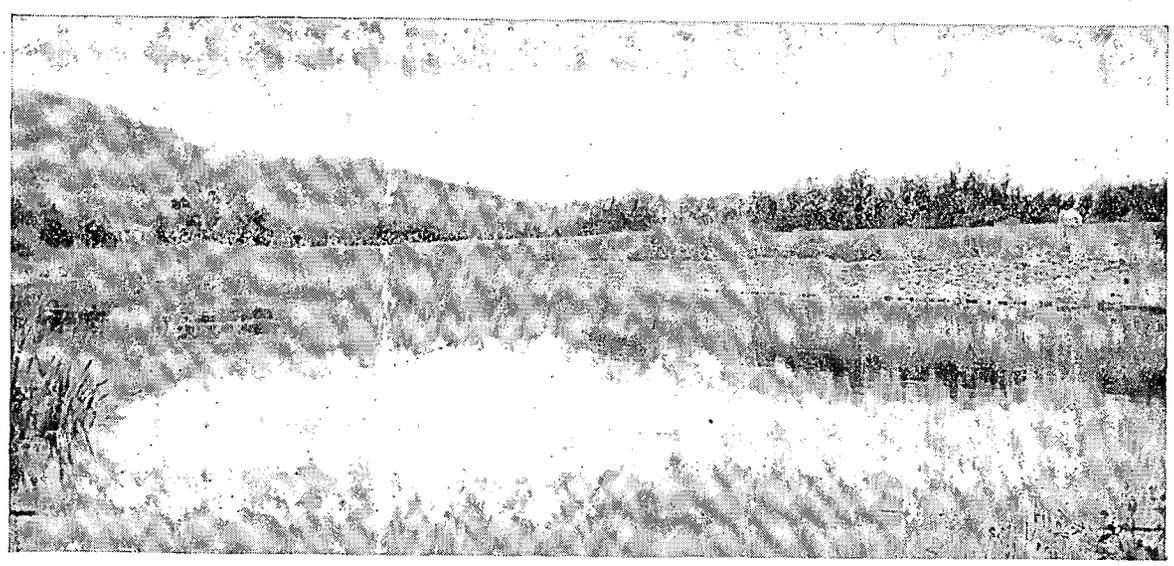
I repeat that none of these policies or techniques are new. For many decades they have distinguished the Indian policy as such, to the discredit of the United States—in contrast, for example, with Canada. The struggle of the Pueblos has led to a struggle for a change in these policies and methods on behalf of all Indians and, incidentally, on behalf of American self-respect and elementary honor.

This article deals only with the Pueblo struggle. This struggle revolves about the question of Pueblo lands but involves the whole subject of administration, of welfare and cultural life among the Pueblos. The dramatic feature of the struggle has been a determined effort, renewed again and again, to annul the Pueblo land titles in the interest of white claimants. This effort at confiscation has been sponsored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs which is called, and which exerts the authority of, guardian over these dependent wards.

Intrinsically, this is an astonishing situation. But it throws into relief a situation of far vaster magnitude. For there are only ten thousand Pueblo Indians in New Mexico, but there are two hundred and ten thousand Indians under wardship; and the property values at stake in the Pueblo struggle do not exceed a few million dollars, while the value of the Indian estate under the guardianship of the Indian Bureau is far in excess of a thousand million dollars. One warp and woof of meaning, one pattern and one intent, run through the whole policy and practice affecting the Pueblos along with all the dependent Indians. There is an issue of magnitude here aside from the moral questions; it is plain that an important struggle over material wealth is under way.

First let us get a vision of the Pueblos. They are "sedentary" Indians; they have lived in towns and have irrigated their desert land for a good many thousands of years. They have always been self-supporting. They are pacific Indians, traditionally engaging only in defensive war and inveterately possessed with what can be called a Tolstoyan spirit. It is their philosophy not to hate, not to cherish revenge and not to be gloomy; a philosophy quite conscious, maintained through institutions and through a definite social opinion.

There are twenty Pueblo groups in New Mexico, living in twenty-five towns along the Rio Grande and out over the desert toward Arizona. All of these groups have been in contact with the white man for nearly three centuries; and the most inveterately "primitive" of them all, Santo Domingo, lives on the railroad between Albuquerque and Santa Fe. They speak four root-languages and many dialects; also Spanish; also, less universally, English. Superficially, most of them are Roman Catholics, but all of them, save possibly Laguna, are fundamentally pagan—an active, institutional paganism with ritual and creed exceedingly rich, dramatic and romantic. There is much genuine mysticism among them. Their hospitality would appear quixotic if it were not the expression of virile and deep life-attitudes. And at the risk of being thought fantastic or sentimental, I add that the average Pueblo individual gets a richer social nurture—is subjected to a more adequate range of truly socializing influences—than any save the most favored few among white Americans.



This reservoir at Zuni is the only reservoir in the whole pueblo system; white settlers have steadily appropriated the Indian water supply

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

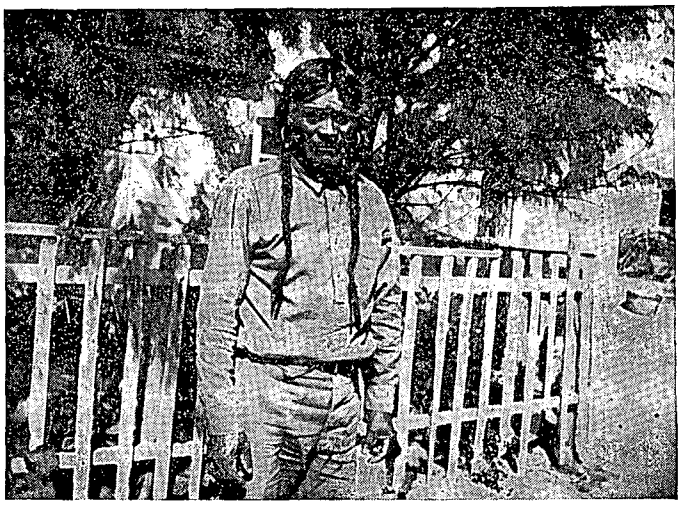
These Pueblos were wards of Spain. Spain confirmed or granted to them tracts of land, forbade the alienation of this land by individuals, and treated with an interested toleration their paganism and Indianhood. The Franciscan missionaries took a similarly enlightened attitude—indeed, it was largely they who caused Spain to take it.

The Pueblos, always self-supporting, were enterprising; they bought much land in addition to the Spanish grants or confirmations of primordial title. The land-grants and purchase-grants alike were communally held. The Pueblos do not live on reservations, save in the case of Zuni pueblo, but hold collective fee-simple title to their lands.

When the United States annexed New Mexico it assumed the obligations of the preceding sovereignties. Thereafter, beginning in the late '50s, Congress quit-claimed to the pueblos, as communities, tracts of land which were supposed to be identical in boundary with the earlier Spanish grants; and Congress or the courts have confirmed the Pueblo titles to the purchase-grants as well.

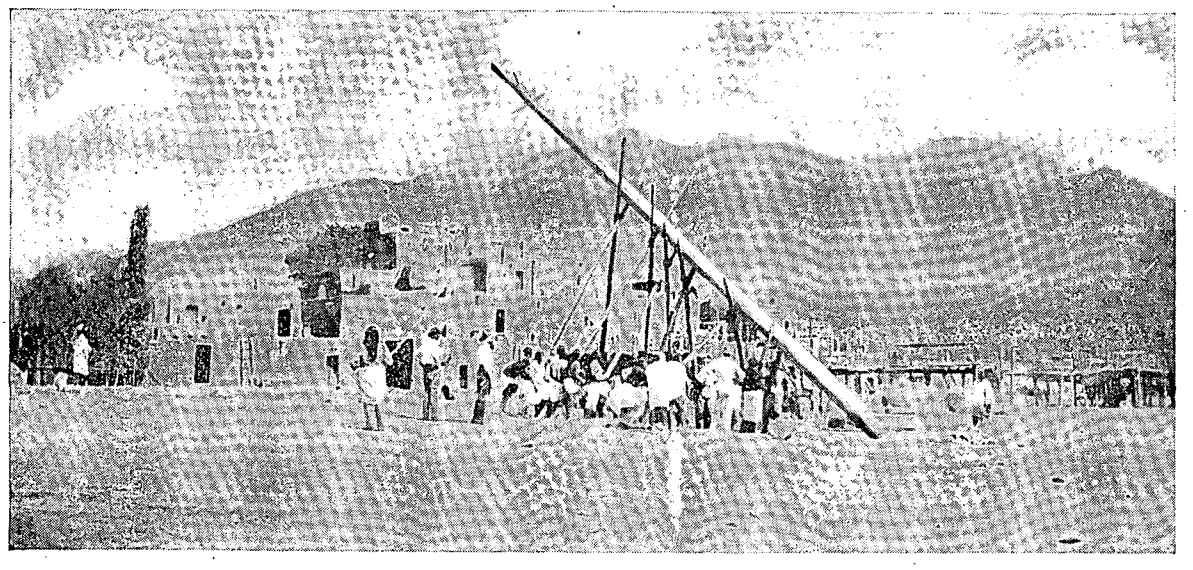
Congress also established a guardianhip over the Pueblo Indian and has maintained that guardianship continuously to the present. It was the guardian's duty, acknowledged as such through Congressional and administrative acts, to prevent the theft or otherwise alienation of the ward's lands. The guardian neglected his duty, though incessantly the ward besought the guardian to do his duty; and thousands of white settlers possessed themselves of the use, though they could not acquire the title, of the Pueblo lands. It was the ancient irrigated lands which the invaders possessed themselves of.

There does not run against the government or its wards any statute of limitations; it therefore is in the power of the government to recover for the wards all or any selected part of the lands. But as the government passively permitted the usurpation of the Pueblo lands, until in many cases two and three generations of non-Indians have lived on a given tract, it is justly claimed that a compensation is morally owed to some of the white settlers whom the government might displace from Pueblo land.



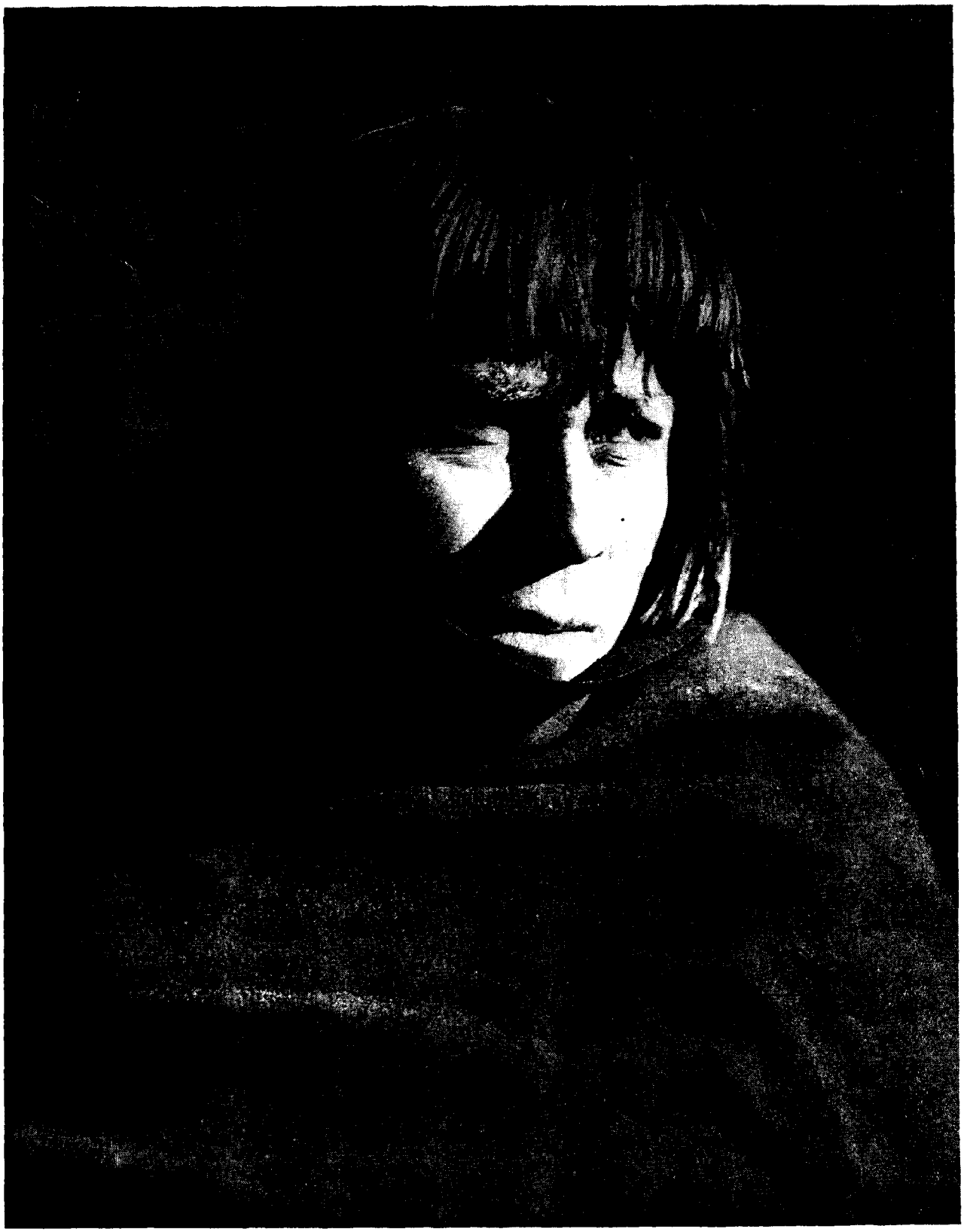
Another pueblo governor (of Picusio) who went to Washington to plead the red man's rights

The year 1922 found the following situation: First, many of the pueblos were in distress and two were destitute because of their illegal losses of farmlands. All the water that had flowed through the ancient ditches of Tesuque had been taken by whites. San Ildefonso with about 150 inhabitants retained the use of fewer than 250 irrigated acres; Santa Clara retained fewer than 375 acres for a population of over 300. San Juan had lost the use of 3,500 of its 4,000 irrigated acres. Taos had lost over three thousand acres of its usable land. At a hearing of the House Committee on Indian Affairs on February 15, 1923, Assistant Commissioner Edgar B. Merritt testified at length, in answers to a long series of charges by many witnesses, quoting figures to show that the Pueblo Indians have failed to utilize all the available irrigated lands or water. But his own testimony on this as on a number of other matters was contradicted by the detailed statements of field agents of the Indian Bureau introduced at a later stage by Mr. Merritt himself. For instance, Mr. Merritt [on p. 350 of the report on the House hearings] stated that the Zuni Indians have 2,203 acres under ditch that are idle; yet later [on p. 360] he inserted



Preparations for the San Geronimo festival at Taos; the pueblo which has given rich material and inspiration to Anglo-Saxon artists

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Copyright Roger Daniels

This Santa Domingo Indian goes about wrapped, with unconscious artistry, in a rare black blanket

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Copyright Roger Daniels

Juan Calavasas, of Santo Domingo, turns his best side to the camera. His right eye is blind

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a report on the Zuni from the officials in the field, containing these words: "The Indians under this project (Zuni) are industrious and farm the full extent of the land available." This I know from personal observation under the guidance of the superintendent of the Zuni pueblo to be the fact.

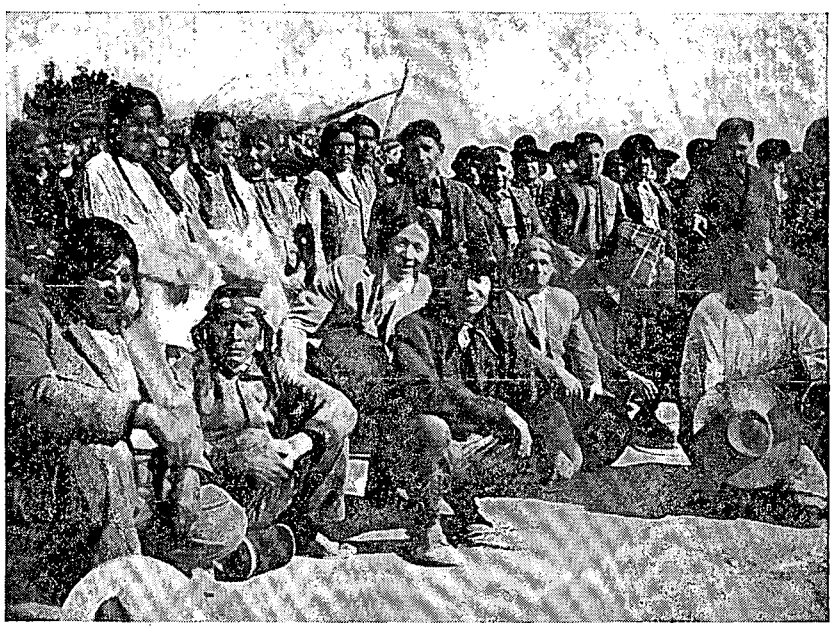
Second, poverty was beginning to register in disease and demoralization. "The pueblos must be broken up," had been the tacit or expressed slogan of the Indian Bureau; and sheer starvation was beginning to fulfil the hope. Young people going to work had brought back diseases—tuberculosis, trachoma and venereal disease. Taos had newly developed syphilis and trachoma—12 per cent of its population were in the primary or secondary stages of syphilis with no evidence of tertiary syphilis at all. Seventeen per cent of all Indians in the northern pueblos had trachoma and no treatment was being given by the Indian Office. The state health boards are without jurisdiction over the Indians under guardianship. For venereal diseases there existed neither statistics nor treatment until private effort was begun at Taos.

The third condition was the unrest of the white settlers. They possessed the land; but they were without valid title. The government had started in 1921 some test cases pointing toward eviction; then at the request of the government the decisions pending in the United States court had been withheld. Meantime there was an undisputed possibility of opening for cultivation new areas of the land not yet taken from the Indians through new irrigation and the drainage of waterlogged lands; but though the engineers of the Indian Bureau had made surveys and framed projects, year had followed year without the execution of these projects which would have given the Pueblos a chance for life while reducing the tension about disputed land.

From all these conditions came the Bursum Bill, in whose drafting the following officials and individuals participated: Col. Ralph E. Twitchell of New Mexico, assigned by the Department of Justice to serve as government attorney for the Indians on behalf of the Indian Bureau; A. B. Renehan, attorney for various white settlers; and Albert B. Fall, secretary of the interior. The Indian Office endorsed the bill, and it passed the Senate in September as an "administration measure." It was recalled to the Senate in November on motion of Senator Borah; and then the winter's long struggle, which will be resumed in the next Congress, got under way.

I must tell of the Bursum Bill before telling how the Pueblos rose to face its menace. This bill struck a blow at the religious and communal life of the Pueblos by throwing the determination of their internal affairs into the courts. It proposed to bring before a federal court all disputes or complaints concerning Pueblo office holders. As a matter of fact, these men are not, however, only appointed or elected civil officers but also religious dignitaries and officers of secret societies which are essentially religious in character and the controlling element in the life of the community. The bill would have made it possible for any discontented individual to force the hierarchy into court where, under penalty of a jail sentence, they would have been required to disclose the most sacred secrets of the tribe. The bill has, in fact, been described as a "bill for compulsory anthropological research."

It contained, further, many "jokers," but its main object was to transfer from the Pueblos to the white settlers the title to those Pueblo lands illegally occupied and waters illegally appropriated by the whites. The method was to institute a statute of limitations protecting the white settlers. Compensation was hinted at, but this compensation was demonstrated and admitted by spokesmen for the Indian Bureau to be ineffectual or phantasmal. The Bursum Bill meant to the Pueblos a final sentence of death.



Delegates from all the pueblos met at Santo Domingo to

Slowly it broke on the Pueblos that Armageddon had come; and that their guardian, the Indian Bureau, was not defending them but on the contrary had participated in the drafting of the legislative monster and had endorsed it. The attorney named by the guardian to defend the ward had chiefly drawn a measure which, whatever its intention, in fact constituted a "raid" on the ward's property and life.

Night after night council meetings were held. Taos pueblo met unceasingly; the council meeting became a town meeting of all the inhabitants. Taos sent a messenger to the other nineteen pueblos—an Indian, Antonio Lujan, whom I accompanied. Santo Domingo, the pueblo which no white man has been allowed to enter intimately, became host to a convention of pueblos attended by 121 delegates. It

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was the first time the pueblos had acted together in 250 years. This convention, on initiative of Isleta pueblo, became a permanent league of pueblos, the All-Pueblo Council, whose work has just begun and which many prove decisive in the Pueblo future. The Pueblos did not limit themselves to defense. Under the leadership of the Taos old men, they formulated a counter-proposition, simple, statesmanlike and (as is the way with Indians) incredibly generous to the white man.

The proposition was: Let the government proceed to develop these long-postponed projects of draining our land which is waterlogged and of building mother-ditches and reservoirs. Thus there will be plenty of land for all. Then allow us, the Pueblos,

attempt their common defense against the Bursum Bill

to say that we voluntarily transfer the title to this land and that land to the white man. We hold it unjust to disturb the old towns of white men built on our holdings; we will surrender many cultivated fields and grazing areas, too, if only we can know that water, drainage and other advantages long withheld will be furnished us in return for our voluntary surrenders.

Such a proposition having been adopted by unanimous vote after long consideration, the All-Pueblo Council issued an Appeal to the American People which there is not space to quote here, and instructed that a delegation go to Washington. This convention, a culmination of several score of meetings held in the different pueblos, was the most picturesque gathering I ever attended. All discussion was voiced in five languages—English, Spanish, Keresian, Tewan and Zunian. It proceeded amid a rustling of corn-shucks being rolled into cigarettes. All day and far into the night the delegates sat; they adjourned for song and dancing and met for renewed session in the early morning. The issues were matters of national life or death (for each pueblo is a nation, with its own language and complex tradition). Feeling ran high; but there was never an interruption of one who spoke, and there were none who did not speak. There was final unanimity in all decisions. Here was the living, undiminished continuum of a democracy older than the Saxon folk-mote and probably older than the Athenian democracy.

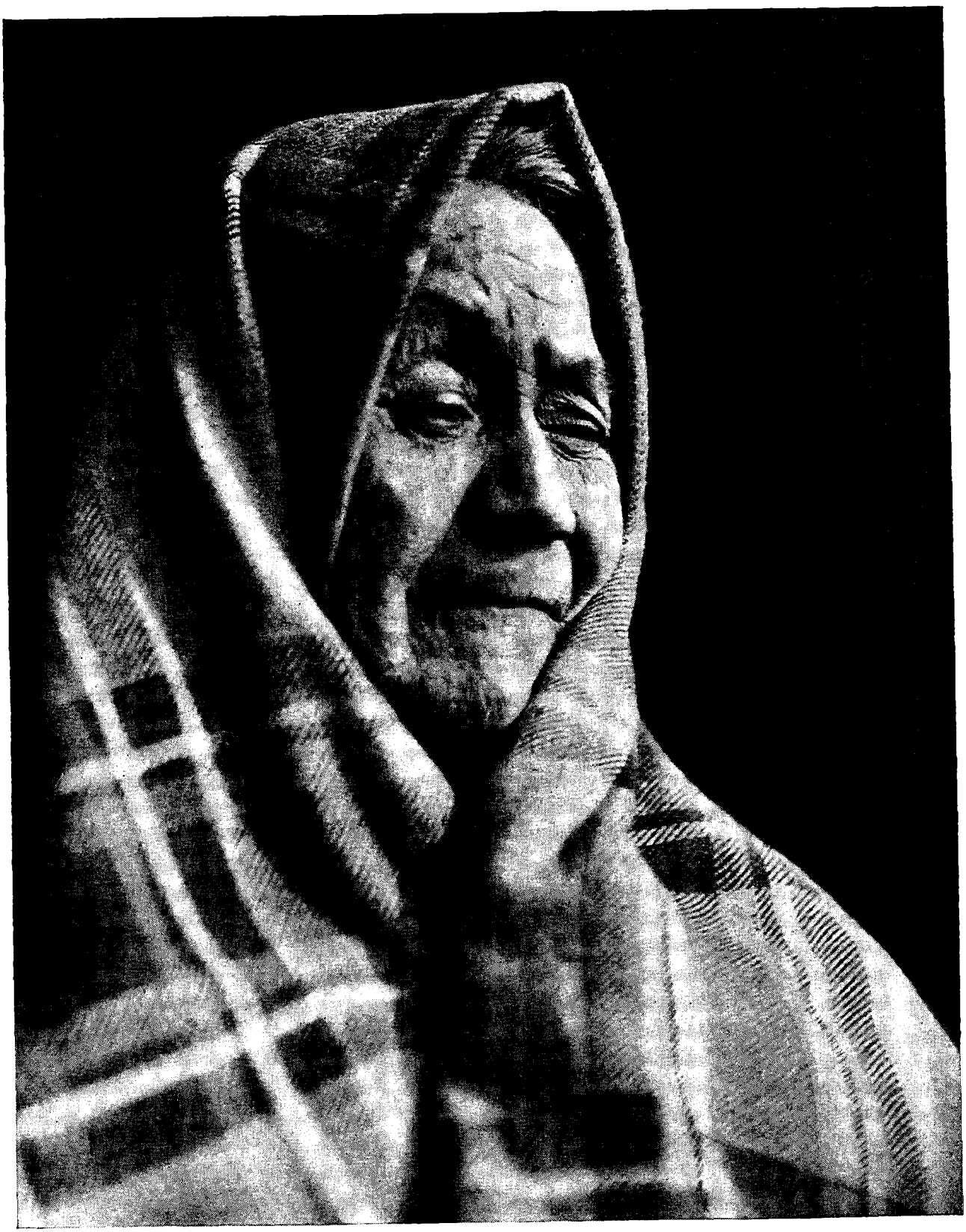
Seventeen pueblo governors, *principales* and *caciques,* came to Washington. The aged sun-priest of Zuni came. They represented their case to audiences in New York, Chicago and Washington and sat, intently still, through two weeks of sessions in the Senate Committee on Public Land; then they stated their own case through Pablo Abeita, their spokesman for this occasion, and delivered written statements, and went home. What results did they gain?

Though battered with criticism, the Bursum Bill was not dead. It was sponsored anew by the Indian Bureau, and meantime Representative Homer P. Snyder, chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, introduced for the Indian Bureau a modification of the discredited Bursum Bill, which contained the destructive essences of its friendly rival in the Senate. The Indians' own measure, introduced as the Jones-Leatherwood Bill, never received adequate attention in the Senate Committee. At the end of the session, which refused to interest itself in any but the legalistic phases of the problem, the Senate passed the Lenroot Committee Bill which, though honestly drafted, effaced the Pueblo land titles in favor of white settlers through a statute of limitations, and provided the Pueblos no compensation. The Lenroot Bill, promptly accepted by the House Indian Affairs Committee and reported by it, was blocked in the House just before adjournment through the withholding of unanimous consent. Though the history of this bill was very different from that of the Bursum Bill, it would, should it be reintroduced, be opposed absolutely by the friends of the Indians.

Meantime a pitched battle had been waged in the House Indian Affairs Committee, which committee, on behalf of the Indian Bureau, took the offense against the critics of the various "raids." The representative of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. H. A. Atwood, was there, and metaphorically was assaulted and battered by the committee aflame with administration zeal. For days the friends of the Pueblos struggled to get into the record the facts of poverty and disease which had resulted from or which complicated the loss of Pueblo lands. Finally the data was forced in. This data, and the attempted reply to it which was made by the Indian Bureau, can be found in the printed record: it is too voluminous to quote in detail here.* It showed that the per-capita income

* See the printed hearings of the Indian Affairs Committee, House of Representatives, on Pueblo Lands [H. R. 13452 and H. R. 13674]: p. 187, p. 196, p. 225, etc., p. 347, etc.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Copyright Roger Daniels

An Isleta grandmother who sells pottery at Albuquerque

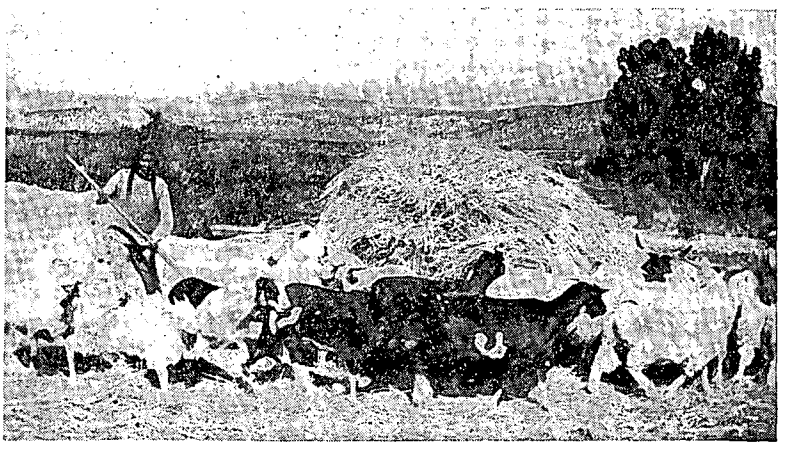
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Copyright Roger Daniels

Mary Lajuan, a seller of pottery from Isleta

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Pueblo Indians in the northern pueblos (where the greatest losses of land have occured) is far below fifty dollars a year. It showed health conditions and a neglect of medical service which would be sensational in any other population groups in the United States but which are typical for all the Indian groups under guardianship. Mr. Merritt, assistant commissioner of Indian Affairs, opposing in effect the plea for medical service and new irrigations, insisted that Congress had been "liberal toward the Pueblos." He denied exceptional morbidity or poverty. And he embodied the tradition of the Indian Bureau and of Congress in the following quotation from an employe of the service. The quotation is from a formal statement made to a committee of Congress in rebuttal of those who were asking for medical service, and for a recognition of undisputed property rights, for the Indians:



His herd of goats threshes wheat for a Pueblo Indian

> These Indians have but little land and water, and from the reports it is doubtful that they require much more than sufficient for the execution of their pagan dances. It is not at all certain that these Indians would avail themselves of the opportunity to increase the area cultivated.

So spoke the guardian of the Indians, on behalf of Uncle Sam!

And there slowly took form this realization, which gradually will penetrate the consciousness of the American public: In these United States there is an equivalent of the Belgian and the French Congo. The denial of land rights of the Congo—it is here. The decimation of victims— it is here (in California the Indians, made landless, have fallen from more than 100,000 in number to 17,000 during the American guardianship). The insolence of denial and of whitewash of the Congo—it is here. And finally, the discouragement of public sympathy for the victims by propaganda directed against the victims, familiar from the Congo—it, too, is here.

And the victims? They are those people without whom, as George Washington testified, America could not have won the War of the Revolution. They are those people who, "outraged in their most sacred institutions," as Professor C. Hart Merriam states it, have yet kept sweet and hospitable toward the white man—and who, facing with a complete and sophisticated consciousness their probable though needless doom, yet know how to be hopeful and gay. They are a race which menaces the white man and the nation in no possible fashion, through whose ravishment no national or imperialist necessity is served. They are groups of men and women rich in beauty, rooted in an inconceivably rich social inheritance and, after generations of complicated persecution, still faithful to their way of the spirit—a way which might lead us white men far if we wished or were constituted to travel it. It is not only the Pueblos which are referred to here; they are only one of many groups which spiritually have held their own.

The Pueblos through their recent and present struggle have become protagonists of all the Indians. And the Indian's day has begun. Before the next Congress meets, the struggle toward a new Indian policy and a new administrative spirit will have broadened to include the red race as a whole. The General Federation of Women's Clubs at its meeting in Atlanta in May reaffirmed its undertakings and reempowered Mrs. Atwood, its Indian welfare chairman. Numerous groups have been formed, from New York to California, which are working together toward a general Indian program. The American Indian Defense Association has been incorporated in New York. The new secretary of the interior, Hubert N. Work, has formed an Advisory Council of One Hundred on Indian policies.

There has been a widespread publicity on a scale unknown before in Indian affairs; and by common consent party politics has left the subject aside. An all-American and all-Indian movement is under way, because through the Pueblos' own struggle the public conscience and imagination have been aroused at last.

This all-Indian movement begins with an effort to secure elementary justice and to lift artificial handicaps. It cannot end there, of course. The winning of a future for a whole race—a whole civilization—must be a work of social experiment and of creation or it will fail. Can government as now constituted achieve such creation or even permit it? Again, are there at work irresistible forces which must efface all strangenesses, all delightful naiveties and adventurous possibilities? We must ask this question and we are bound to attempt, through action, to answer it, for and with the red man and for and with ourselves.

In the next issue, the Hon. Charles H. Burke, commissioner of Indian Affairs of the Department of the Interior, will briefly reply to some of the criticisms of the Indian Bureau's policy which are set forth by Mr. Collier in this article.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Next Winter's Coal

The Commission's Report Puts It up to the Public

By ROBERT W. BRUÈRE

NEWSPAPER comment on the preliminary anthracite report of the United States Coal Commission tends to convey the impression that the commission's recommendations have the effect of law, that the domestic fuel problem is solved, and that the public may now go on its way rejoicing. The commission has, of course, no such authority. Its findings are solely for "aiding, assisting, and advising Congress in matters of legislation." Any practical effect its work may have will depend upon Congress, and congressional action will in turn largely depend upon public pressure. If the public sleeps, nothing will happen. It is for this reason that The Survey has repeatedly urged the commission to hold open hearings. Even if this forty-six page multigraphed document were generally available, which it is not, it would be unreasonable to expect the layman to digest it without the help of expert discussion and interpretation. The newspaper summaries feature the high spots only. Unless the commission takes the trouble to win active and intelligent public support—a matter which during the nine months of its existence it has signally neglected—its labors are likely to prove as ineffective as those of the succession of coal investigating bodies that have preceded it.

The need for such public discussion is strongly indicated by the headlines under which the principal metropolitan dailies have carried their summaries. COAL COMMISSION FOR MINE REGULATION AND POWER TO SEIZE, says the New York Times; COAL COMMISSION ASKS U. S. TO TAKE CONTROL OF MINES IN ANY EMERGENCY, says the World. The sections of the commission's report so featured are certainly good headline material. But quite as certainly, they are not the most important sections. Precisely because of their rhetorical impressiveness, they are likely to awaken false hopes and breed confusion. It is probable that the President already has power to seize the mines in a national emergency. President Roosevelt seemed to think so during the anthracite strike of 1902. But anthracite is what other government reports have described as a "luxury" fuel. With an oversupply of bituminous usually available, interruption of anthracite production while extremely inconvenient is not necessarily fatal. Moreover, such presidential intervention as the commission advocates would have to be military intervention or intervention through the courts; and, as President Harding pointed out in one of his recent speeches, neither troops nor injunctions are highly efficient in digging out coal.

The commission's pronouncement that the time has certainly come to establish the public utility idea in the anthracite industry is interesting but not new. It was suggested by the Anthracite Strike Commission in 1902-03. In March, 1921, Senator Kenyon introduced a bill providing, among other things, for the recognition and declaration that coal, its production and distribution, are "charged with public interest and use." The bill failed. But if it had been enacted into law, its constitutionality would undoubtedly have been assailed, and probably with success in view of Chief Justice Taft's recent observation in the Kansas Industrial Court case that "it has never been supposed since the adoption of the constitution that the business of the butcher, or the baker, the tailor, the wood chopper, the *mining operator or the miner* was clothed with such a public interest that the price of his product or his wages could be fixed by state regulation." Of course, the Supreme Court has been known to change its mind. But in the present state of public opinion with respect to "government in industry," it would probably be as difficult to subject the anthracite industry to regulation as a declared public utility as it would be to induce the commission to give serious and dispassionate consideration to the miners' proposal for the nationalization of the mines. Even the commission is perplexed by its own suggestion; "there is not yet," it observes, "sufficient basis in knowledge or experience to determine what form of control or regulation will ultimately be most advantageous." That nut is still to be cracked.

Whether the commission will seriously attempt to solve this problem which has proved too hard for senators and congressmen, may be doubted in view of its gently stated belief that "the principle of individual and corporate responsibility should be maintained as most likely to insure economical and efficient management of the industry, *and that* the

A Dollar's Worth of — What

The division of the consumer's dollar in several cities

City	*Pounds of coal received for the dollar*	*Sales price at mine*	*Charge for freight*	*Share of Dealer*
Boston	128	.45	.23	.32
New York	145	.56	.18	.26
Philadelphia	155	.61	.16	.23
Washington	141	.58	.20	.22
Chicago	120	.49	.30	.21

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

public interest may be adequately safeguarded by the creation of a governmental authority with power to require financial and operating reports, to prescribe uniform methods of cost accounting, and to determine the conditions on which coal may be shipped in interstate commerce." Such continuous investigation and reporting of the financial facts of the industry by an authority with power is highly desirable. Public demand for it was one of the major influences leading up to the creation of the commission. But again the idea is not new. The thing has been attempted. Congress authorized the Federal Trade Commission to do this very job and voted the necessary funds. But again the courts blocked the way. In the Claire Furnace and Maynard cases, the Court of Appeals held that the production of coal, like the production of steel, is not so related to interstate commerce as to justify its regulation by the federal government. Commenting upon the decision of the lower court, subsequently affirmed by the Court of Appeals, Senator Frelinghuysen, as reported in the Congressional Record of December 22, 1921, complained that "we cannot find out what the costs are because the National Coal Association has put out the eyes of the government by the injunction in the Maynard coal case."

Here is another knotty problem for which the commission offers no solution. That it may have found a way through the difficulty is suggested, however, by its announcement that it has completed a study of mine costs and sales realizations which throws some light on profits, and that its examiners are working on the books of the operating companies and their related sales agencies with a view to establishing the facts not only with respect to costs, prices and profits, but also with respect to investment. As the commission points out, the question as to whether the peculiar monopolistic organization of the anthracite industry has been helpful or harmful to the public turns in the last analysis on whether its profits have been reasonable. To this fundamental question, the commission promises a detailed answer in its final report. It is to be hoped that the means it has adopted to get at facts

MONTHLY DISBURSEMENTS OF ANTHRACITE MINE WORKERS' FAMILIES DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO INCOME OF FAMILIES

ITEM	FAMILY INCOME LESS THAN $100.00 PER MONTH		FAMILY INCOME $100.00 AND UNDER $150.00		FAMILY INCOME $150.00 AND UNDER $200.00		FAMILY INCOME $200.00 AND OVER	
	Families Reporting Each Item	Amount Disbursed per Family	Families Reporting Each Item	Amount Disbursed per Family	Families Reporting Each Item	Amount Disbursed per Family	Families Reporting Each Item	Amount Disbursed per Family
EXPENSES:								
Rent	37	$13.24	152	$13.51	160	$13.06	74	$14.60
Fuel	55	5.53	217	6.57	224	7.10	186	8.37
Gas, Electricity or Kerosene	56	1.90	217	1.86	225	2.08	195	2.53
Water	20	.97	88	.92	92	1.25	130	1.26
Taxes	45	2.72	194	3.04	217	3.19	187	5.11
Food, Clothing, Personal Supplies, Upkeep of Household Equipment	56	49.55	225	80.93	236	115.40	195	184.67
Maintenance of Health (Physician, Hospital, Nurse, Dentist, Oculist, Glasses, Prepared or Prescribed Medicines)	46	5.83	168	7.17	191	9.50	157	11.18
Education (Parochial, Private Schools, School Books, Music Lessons	8	3.04	42	3.37	53	5.63	42	4.11
Church Contributions	34	1.96	166	2.62	158	2.54	160	3.61
Labor Organizations	55	1.44	218	1.48	233	1.93	191	1.95
Other Organizations	18	1.77	87	1.50	65	2.60	87	2.53
Carfare	26	2.14	132	2.49	152	2.64	127	3.76
Recreation	23	3.94	124	3.21	141	5.89	137	13.54
Insurance	46	4.94	207	5.16	214	6.73	179	7.47
All other Items	16	7.39	71	4.01	77	11.59	76	17.04
Total	56	85.32	225	120.34	236	165.10	195	247.79
Debts Paid	13	14.45	72	18.58	76	26.35	77	30.66
INVESTMENTS:								
Payments on Houses	3	23.33	23	31.40	25	42.27	33	37.17
Other Investments	..	....	..	....	..	....	1	29.17
Bank Deposits	2	1.00	17	12.05	28	20.28	33	28.20

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Commission's Recommendations to the Joint Conference of Miners and Operators

1. The commission recommends that in the next agreement there should be a provision for a continuing umpire and that he or an assistant named by him should sit with the Conciliation Board at all its meetings, but without a vote.

2. In view of the delays that have been caused by the absence of members of the Conciliation Board, alternates of like standing in the industry should be selected with authority to act in the absence of the original member.

3. The operators' group should appoint a full-time representative and all necessary assistants to consider jointly at the mine with the district officers of the union each case before it is appealed to the Conciliation Board in the hope of securing a local agreement, arriving at a better understanding by each side of the difficulties and problems of the other, and thus producing a mutual feeling of respect for the other's opinions and each obtaining the outlook of the other upon the problems.

4. So many changes have taken place since 1903 that the agreement should provide for a joint committee to work out a restatement of the whole agreement in the terms of today, and this agreement should be specific enough to be the code by which all persons having anything to do with the settlement of grievances shall be bound.

5. If the Board of Conciliation does not clearly understand the facts involved in any case, it should appoint an examiner from each side immediately to investigate and furnish it with all the facts.

6. The agreement should provide for penalties for the breach thereof by either party, and the method by which such penalties are to be enforced.

7. The renewed agreements have too rigidly retained the practices and conditions of 1902 and have not had adequate flexibility. An industry which is necessarily constantly changing cannot tie itself inflexibly to conditions of twenty years ago without hampering the management and working injustice to miners. A second joint committee should be provided for in the next agreement and directed to make an engineering study of the elements of the job of mining anthracite coal, for the purpose of building up a scientific and more equitable basis for rate making. Until, however, such committee shall disclose fundamental facts which shall form a decidedly better basis, the old 1903 base should, of course, be retained, for however inequitable the basis of 1903 with its subsequent modifications is, it is better than no basis at all.

8. The expiration of the contract in the anthracite region should not coincide with the expiration of that in the bituminous region. The contract should run for a definite period of time with the proviso that it shall be deemed to be renewed for a like period of time except as to such provisions thereof in which notice of a desired change shall have been given by either party to the other at least ninety days before the renewal date. Upon these proposed changes the parties shall immediately confer and if, sixty days before the date fixed for the renewal of the contract, they have been unable to agree, they shall report such fact to the President of the United States, specifying clearly the controverted points. The President shall thereupon appoint a person or persons to inquire into and make public a report upon all the relevant facts in controversy before the date of such renewal shall have arrived.

The commission recommends at this time no punitive legislation. It awaits with interest whether the next agreement entered into shall show a cooperative spirit, a clear idea of partnership on the part of all concerned in it, and a proper conception of the rights of the American people. . . .

from which the Federal Trade Commission was barred may serve to show Congress how a continuing fact-finding agency with compulsory powers can be created under the law and the constitution.

IT is significant that the commission's most concrete and explicit recommendations are addressed, not to Congress, but to the operators and miners who are at this moment in session attempting to agree upon a new collective contract to take the place of the agreement which expires at the end of August. Under the law, the commission has no authority to intervene in industrial disputes. As already stated, its sole function is to get facts that will enable Congress, under the constitution, to take such action as in the judgement of Congress will insure an uninterrupted flow of coal to the consumers. Nevertheless, from the beginning, the commission seems to have been apprehensive that the public would adjudge it a failure if a strike should occur during its statutory life. It is not for this reason alone, however, that the commission has ventured to give the operators and miners the benefit of its counsel. For back of its flat decision not to recommend government ownership either by purchase at present value or by expropriation, clearly lies the conviction that the government of the anthracite industry properly vests in the operators and miners. While nervously avoiding so much as a discussion of what in the United States is generally regarded as radicalism—although just across the border in Ontario, Canada, public ownership of the principal source of energy, hydro-electricity, has for a generation been a cardinal policy of the Conservative Party—the commission throws the weight of its influence in the direction of what in England is called Guild Socialism. For while advocating the preservation of existing property rights, most of its recommendations tends to curtail the rights of the private investor, and to enhance the authority of the public, the operating technicians and the workers, and especially of the last two groups. All of the commission's eight recommendations to the operators and miners are designed to strengthen the system of industrial autonomy which has been grow-

(*Continued on page* 505)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our Self-Amending Constitution

By Rev. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D.

EVERY genuine lover of justice and every competent student of industry has been shocked by the decision of the Supreme Court which annulled the minimum wage law of the District of Columbia. Here was a statute which protected thousands of women in the enjoyment of living wages and was unjust to no person or class; yet five of the nine justices of the Supreme Court find that it is prohibited by the constitution.

The men who drew up that great document could scarcely have forseen the industrial changes which have made minimum wage laws necessary. Upon them rests no shadow of responsibility for the recent judicial sentence of nullification. A guarantee of individual freedom which they put into the constitution has been wrested by the Supreme Court to the destruction of individual opportunity. Personal liberty has been judicially construed to mean the liberty of the strong to oppress the weak without interference by the law or the policeman.

Where are we to find a remedy? By what means shall Congress and the state legislatures be enabled to pass valid minimum wage laws? Through amendments to the federal constitution? Certainly, as soon and as fast as possible. But there is no solid hope that thirty-six states will ratify a minimum wage amendment within ten or a dozen years. In the meantime there is an easier and better method. Minimum wage legislation can become valid not only through a change in the constitution, but also through a change in the Supreme Court. The unconstitutionality of the minimum wage law is not objective but subjective. It exists not in the constitution but in the minds of five justices of the Supreme Court. Three justices found it constitutional, and a fourth would have done so had he participated in the decision.

Within a few months one or more of the state minimum wage statutes will come before the Supreme Court. On the assumption that none of the justices changes his mind, these statutes will be nullified by a vote of five to four. Suppose, however, the rules of the court be changed, so that the agreement of at least six is necessary for judicial nullification. In that hypothesis all the state minimum wage laws would remain constitutional.

This idea is not new. It was advanced in the legislature of Kentucky just one hundred years ago.[1] It has since been revived at irregular intervals. As a result of my suggestion, it found its way eleven years ago into the constitution of Ohio. It was proposed in a bill introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman J. J. McSwain about a year and a half ago, and in a bill by Senator Borah a few months ago. Both these bills require a seven-ninths vote for nullification. Representative Frear would have it unanimous, while Senator Ladd would be satisfied with eight-ninths. My own preference is for this proportion.

Why bother with this measure since the constitution is so difficult to amend? For three reasons. First, it would assure the constitutionality of many other forms of industrial legislation, in addition to that providing for a minimum wage. At least two justices of the present Supreme Court would refuse to nullify a law which valued railroads and other public utilities according to the actual cost, or actual investment, rather than according to the cost of reproduction. There would always be found at least two justices to uphold social and industrial legislation against an individualistic, anti-social and immoral theory of free contract. In the second place, a constitutional amendment containing this change in procedure would very probably be ratified by the required thirty-six states in a reasonably short time. It would make a much wider appeal than a minimum wage amendment. Finally, and chiefly, the proposed change could probably be affected without a constitutional amendment, by a simple act of Congress.

Article III, Section 2, of the constitution contains these provisions:

> In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, *with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.*

The words that I have put in italics seem to give Congress the required power to make the change. Minimum wage laws and all other industrial enactments come before the Supreme Court on appeal from the lower courts, either federal or state. In dealing with them, the Supreme Court is exercising *appellate* jurisdiction. If it is to be exercised "under such regulations as the Congress shall make," why may it not be so regulated that a seven-ninths or an eight-ninths vote will be necessary to declare a law unconstitutional? Undoubtedly this article of the constitution gives Congress power to regulate the *procedure* of the court. Is not the size of the majority necessary for the nullification of a statute a question of, an element in, procedure?

There is at least one decision of the Supreme Court which seems to authorize an affirmative answer. Unfortunately I have not the exact reference, as I am writing this on a train in western Canada, but the decision can readily be found in The Constitution Annotated, recently published for the Judiciary Committee of the Senate. It reads substantially thus: "The methods and conditions

[1] See an article entitled, Five to Four Decisions, by Edward S. Corwin, in Michigan Law Review, vol. 19.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

upon which the Supreme Court exercises its jurisdiction are mere matters for regulation by Congress." This seems to apply not only to appellate but also to original jurisdiction.

Nor is this all. The appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is to be exercised "with *such exceptions* as the Congress shall make." Hence Congress could forbid the Supreme Court to consider any appeal in cases involving industrial laws, or could restrict to such cases the operation of the seven-ninths or the eight-ninths rule. The latter regulation would be better than the former. To be sure, the Supreme Court could declare unconstitutional a congressional enactment embodying the seven-ninths or the eight-ninths rule. On the other hand, it could uphold such a regulation. In so doing, the court would reach no new limit or extremity of constitutional expansion.

The seven-ninths or the eight-ninths proposal has the support of logic and of fundamental American political principles. Of logic, owing to the rule upon which the Supreme Court has professed to act since the days of John Marshall. "Every possible presumption" is in favor of the statute law as against the constitutional provision; and a statute must be upheld unless its unconstitutionality is "beyond rational doubt." Surely the latter condition is not fulfilled when three or four of the justices find the law in accord with the constitution. Surely such a presumption is not overcome by a majority of one. If the vote of seven or eight justices were required to make a statute unconstitutional both the rational doubt and favoring presumption would be so reduced that they could be treated as negligible.

The proposed change is sanctioned, indeed, demanded by our political principles. It would deprive the court of a power which is essentially legislative. So far as the "due process" clauses are concerned, the court's assumption of legislative power is quite recent, occurring within the last half century. Protection against "arbitrary abridgment" of freedom of contract was not found in the constitution by any Supreme Court decision previous to the year 1880. The process by which subsequent decisions have read that meaning into the "due process" clauses is essentially a legislative process. In effect, the court has made *new law*—and not merely new statute law but new constitutional law. Now, this new constitutional law, this principle that a state or congressional statute may not "arbitrarily" or "unreasonably" abridge freedom of contract, is so elastic that it permits the nullification of any law which is out of harmony with the economic, ethical, or social opinions held by a majority of the court. Those who wish the court to retain this tremendous and unprecendented power are welcome to their desire, but they ought not to ignore or misrepresent the real nature of the power. They should be willing to admit that it is not judicial but legislative.

We hear the objection that the Supreme Court is the only protector of the natural rights of the individual against oppression by the legislative or the executive branches of the government. This is, indeed, an important function of the court, and no believer in the doctrine of natural rights wishes to see it discontinued. However, the natural rights which are specifically recognized by the constitution, such as free speech, freedom of the press and freedom of religious worship, are not likely to be jeopardized by the requirement of a seven-ninths or an eight-ninths majority of the court for the nullification of a statute. The natural rights, so-called, which the Supreme Court has in recent years undertaken to safeguard, such as excessive freedom of contract, are not genuine moral rights. They are rather a legal license given to the strong for the oppression of the weak. Neither the Supreme Court nor any other department of the government should be permitted to protect such "natural rights."

As a matter of fact, substantially all the decisions of our highest state courts and of the federal Supreme Court declaring industrial laws unconstitutional have injured rather than protected natural rights. A careful study of some three hundred labor laws declared unconstitutional (mostly by state supreme courts) points to the conclusion that human welfare and human rights would have been greatly advanced had all these laws been pronounced valid.

A more particular objection is drawn from the assumed parallel between the vote of the court and the vote of a legislative body. If the latter passes a law by a bare majority, why should a different rule be required for the Supreme Court? In the first place, because the court is not a legislature. Its business is to interpret, not to enact. This consideration is of itself sufficient to destroy the supposed parallel. In the second place, the judicial nullification of laws in nine cases out of ten is a legislative rather than a judicial act. That is to say, the court declares a statute to be in conflict, not with the text of the constitution as it reads, but with a body of legal doctrine which the court itself has created. Now, it is entirely reasonable that more than a bare majority of the court should be required to validate this kind of judicial law making. Otherwise, the legislative authority of the court becomes essentially as great as that of Congress or of a state legislature. This is a direct violation of the constitutional separation between the legislative and the judiciary. A third difference is seen in the fact that the constitutional, legal and logical presumptions are always in favor of the validity of the statute and against the propriety of judicial nullification. No corresponding presumption limits the action of a legislative chamber.[2]

A much more accurate analogy is provided by our jury system. When a person's life, liberty, or property is seriously endangered in court he cannot be convicted unless the jury is unanimous. Why should the welfare of millions be exposed to the gravest injury by a bare majority vote of the Supreme Court? Like the jury, the court has no better or more certain basis for its verdict than individual appreciations and individual judgments.

[2] See Labor Laws That Have Been Declared Unconstitutional, by Lindley D. Clark. Government Printing Office: Washington, D. C., 1923.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Harvesters and Hoboes

II. August in the Northwest

An Arkansas farmer who has made the harvest twenty times. Seasonal labor is his avocation; he works his own farm most of the year

COME back, Dearie, the bum will bite you. Won't you, bum?" The words were inscribed under a lead pencil drawing. A mother was sitting on the front porch of her village home. A little girl was playing near the gate of the picket fence that separated the small front yard from the street. A hobo, cap in hand, had approached the gate. The mother was calling her child.

The "artist" was a hobo laborer. He was sitting with his back against a tree in a North Dakota "jungle" when I ran across him. I had met him before, in Kansas, and in a couple of Dakota towns. "What are you doing, Joe?," I asked. "Drawing a picture of an experience I had a little time ago," and he showed me the sketch and its legend.

A short time before I was on a Burlington fast train going down the Missouri River Valley toward Kansas City. It was a perfect evening in late July. The freights going north were carrying many men. "Look at all the bums on that freight," said a well dressed man on the observation platform. "Those aren't bums," I replied, "those are harvest hands headed for South Dakota. They're going up to catch a Milwaukee (Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul) train out of Sioux City." "I never thought of that," he answered, "but I have been noticing that there are a lot of men on the freights."

The Daily American of Aberdeen, South Dakota, in its issue of Monday, July 18, 1921, carried an article headed in large display type, MOVE ON IS ORDER OF POLICE AS TRAINS BRING HOBO THRONGS TO CITY. In the course of the article we read:

At noon yesterday Chief of Police John Anderson was notified that a Milwaukee freight train approaching Aberdeen was carrying about two hundred harvest hands. A police detail was sent to a point two miles south of the city where the train was stopped. The police boarded it and rode into the city with the laborers. Once in the yards they took their charges from the train and started them out of town afoot.

All the afternoon the small army of khaki clad men carrying bundles of clothing under their arms was moving out of the city to the north.

At 7 o'clock last night the police said there were not more than fifty harvest hands in Aberdeen.

— — — —

Police stated that the men who came from the south yesterday are a different class of laborers, than those who were driven out of the city on Friday night. The late arrivals were really looking for work, it is believed. There was no defiance in their attitude and they made no complaint when informed that Aberdeen preferred that they should not stop here.

To many people, an idle man in working clothes is presumably a bum, especially if he is traveling; a migratory laborer is a "floater," a "hobo," a

Three Dakotans

Who migrate from job to job

A DAKOTAN, thirty-eight years of age, with an eighth grade education, raised on a farm, had had one and one-half year's experience as a rough carpenter, one and one-half year's at coal mining, five seasons' in well drilling, two years' on an experimental hemp farm, and ten years' harvest experience.

Another North Dakotan, thirty-five years of age, had worked at farming, auctioneering, as a street-car conductor, stationary engineer and as a machinist.

A third, forty-two years old, had worked for four years in a glass factory and ten years as a painter. He bought junk for a year and a half and managed the city dump for six months. He had washed dishes in restaurants, made the harvest twenty times, and worked intermittently at farming and common labor.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

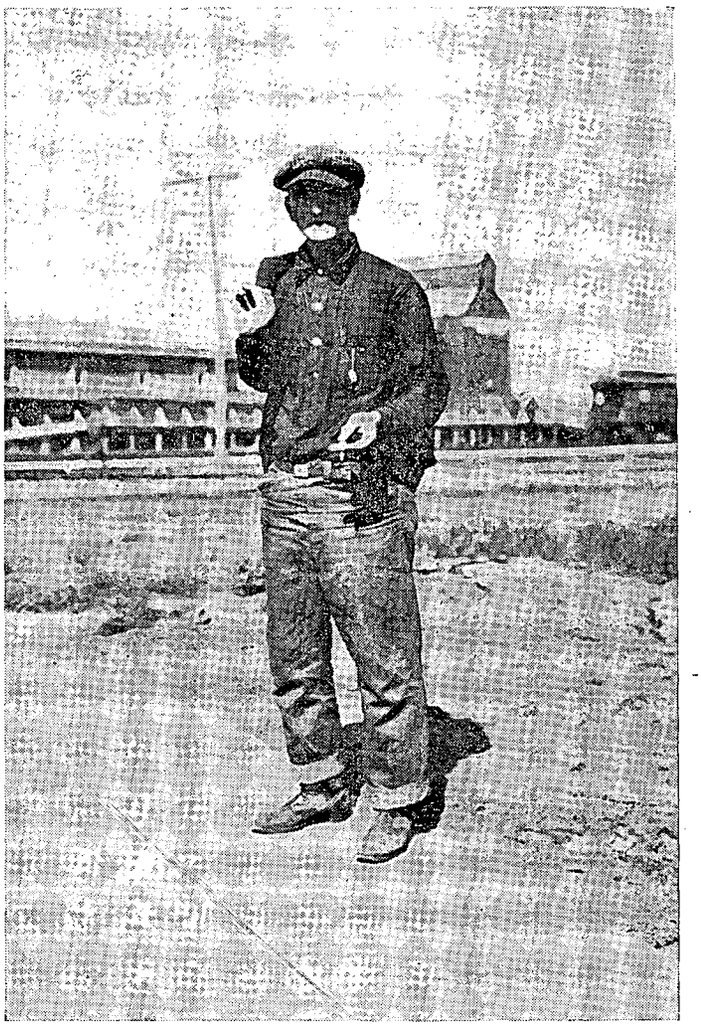
in the Wheat Fields

By DON D. LESCOHIER

"transient," a "Fly-by-night"—in a word a more or less useless parasite upon a long-suffering society. During the last fifteen years I have met personally many thousands of migratory laborers, and I have detailed life histories of hundreds of them. I have found among them men of every type, from "bums" to good workmen, from drunkards to self-respecting citizens, from criminals to the law-abiding. In 1917-18, the public employment office at Minneapolis, of which I was superintendent, had a "revolving fund" out of which transportation could be loaned to men short of money if they could deposit baggage, jewelry or other satisfactory security with us. Occasionally a man came in who had neither money nor baggage but who seemed to be the man we wanted for a particular job. Some of these had been robbed; others had baggage which would be forwarded from their last place of residence to the town where they obtained work. Others owned only the clothes on their backs. Again and again, I advanced transportation out of my own pocket for such men, many of them confirmed migrants, with no security but their promise to send the money back to me. I simply said, "Now, Bill, I'm putting up this fare for you. It is my money, not the state's. I think you are square, and I am going to trust you." I never lost a cent. I am not suggesting that this is good office practice, but I am saying that there is more manhood in the hobo than many people have believed.

The Dakota wheat harvest is a good place to make the hobo's acquaintance. From fifteen to thirty thousand men migrate into the Dakotas each year for the harvest and threshing. In late July thousands from the Kansas-Nebraska harvest pour into Sioux City, Iowa, to get the Milwaukee and the Northwestern northwest through South Dakota. About the same time contingents of men begin leaving Chicago, Minneapolis, Duluth and hundreds of smaller towns west of the Great Lakes for Dakota. Throughout the month of August and the first half of September the inflow continues.

The men who come up from the southern harvest are composed of three distinct elements, farmers and farm hands from Iowa and Nebraska south to Mississippi and Texas, factory hands and urban industrial laborers from the cities of the Missouri, Arkansas and lower Mississippi river valleys, and migratory laborers from the oil fields, railroad crews, cattle ranches and construction industries of the Southwest. The men who go to the Dakotas from Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa and Montana are predominantly industrial workers and include a large contingent of the migratory laborers who work out of Chicago, Minneapolis, Milwaukee and Duluth. Many of them are "shipped" to the harvest by private employment agencies in the



The hobo takes even migratory labor lightly. He often follows the harvest but he is likely never quite to catch up with its heavy work

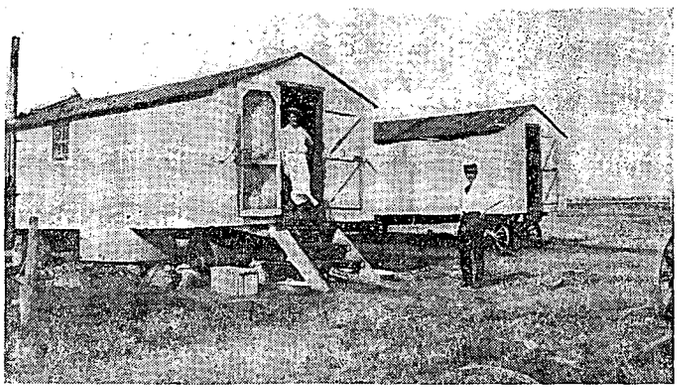
A Bit of Everything

A boy stunted by lack of a steady job

THIRTY-TWO years of age, single, this Iowa boy was typical of the seasonal laborer of the better type. His father was a section hand, and at fifteen the boy went to work to help support the family. He first drove a delivery wagon in his home town. At nineteen he went to Milwaukee where he obtained employment washing dishes in a restaurant, then as a Western Union messenger boy. He left the Western Union for the lumber camps and since then has worked at common labor occupations in various places, such as trucking in a Minneapolis warehouse, railroad shop work, lumbering, harvesting, and in saw-mills. He sends $25 a month to his mother. This man is typical of thousands of laborers who have never seemed able to learn a skilled occupation, keep a steady job or establish a home.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cities. A much larger number of the homeless migrants who haunt the lodging houses and employment agencies of the labor centers ride the freights to the harvest "on their own hook" or get shipments to railroad extra-gang work in or near the harvest area and then desert their jobs for the harvest. Many a county's crop has been saved by labor shipped to the county for railroad work. As the harvest draws near the employment agents begin to receive many "callers" who inquire—"Any shipments west today?" "Got any work in the Dakotas?" These men will "sign up" for any job that will give them a "free fare shipment" to or toward the harvest fields and desert their prospective employer for the harvest.



A cook car and bunk car that roll across the prairie with the harvest

The Call of the Road

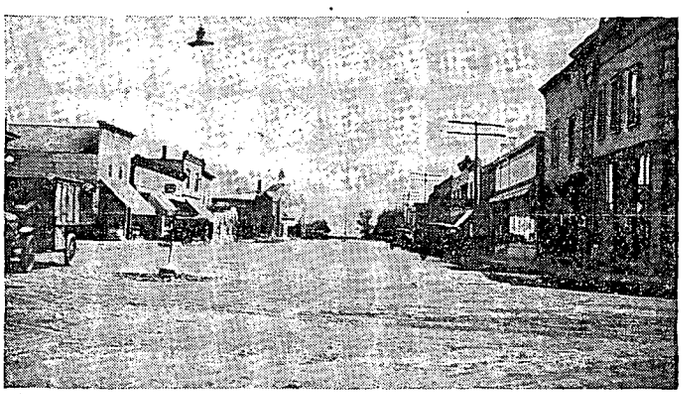
A boy who wants to see the world—and a man who has

ON a Northwestern train between Aberdeen and Claremont, South Dakota, I met a lad of twenty-one who was distinctly of the adventurous type. His home was at Galveston, Texas, where he lived with his grandmother until he was fourteen years old. He then shipped as a cabin boy to Cuba. At Havana he worked in a restaurant through the winter and then shipped as cabin boy on a boat to New York. From there he went to San Francisco and Los Angeles, where he worked in a restaurant for six weeks. He next shipped as cabin boy to Nome, Alaska, and after a few days came back on another boat to Seattle. From Seattle he went to Colby, Kansas, and followed the harvest north to Fargo. In the fall he obtained work waiting on table at a Chicago restaurant. In July he went to Colby again and harvested northward as far as Regina, Saskatchewan, where he met two trappers in the harvest fields and joined them for the winter. Luck smiled on them and the boy put $2,000 in a Denver bank the next spring. The war broke out and he enlisted. Returning he visited his grandmother for two weeks, then went to the harvest and on to Canada, where he went into the woods to trap again.

ANOTHER rover, of a type frequently met among the seasonal laborers of the West, was born in Scotland in 1862 and came to the United States in 1892. He left school at the age of eleven to go to work in a factory. When twenty, he shipped to Australia as a sailor and worked there on sheep ranches, in restaurants and at various things. He saved $300 and went back to Scotland. Four months later he came to America. His first job was at Paterson, New Jersey, as a carpenter's helper. After working around for a while as a laborer, he went on the lakes as a deck hand. For fourteen seasons he sailed the lakes but, he said, "I saved nothing. I drank and played cards and was a regular sport them days. A rover can never have money. I have been to every city in the country from Buffalo to Los Angeles, working at every kind of common labor. I have $50 in the bank now for a rainy day. I am not sure where I will spend the winter but I expect to make $100 picking potatoes after I finish the harvest."

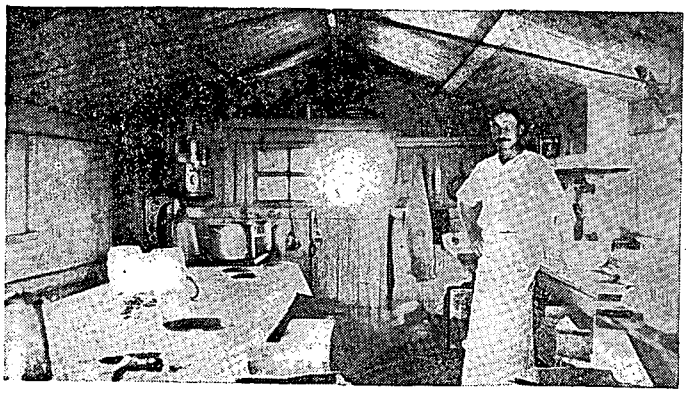
The least industrious among the hoboes are on the ground early. One meets them in northern Oklahoma harvest towns in May, a month before the harvest opens there. They begin to dribble into the Dakota towns two and three weeks before cutting begins. Many of them seem to keep ahead of the harvest—so far ahead that it never catches up with them. They arrive early "to get the good jobs" but are still on the streets of the towns when the harvest is in full swing. Their explanation, in most cases, is that they are holding out for better wages. This loafing type work only a few days at a time and when necessity compels. They are the ones who give the migratory laborer a bad reputation. Ever to be seen by the casual passer-by, their very presence becomes a nuisance to the townspeople. The farmers who drive into town in search of men find them a constant irritation. When the harvest begins to subside they disappear like the melted snow, to reappear again the following summer.

A much larger number of the migratory laborers who take part in the harvest are there to work. They look upon the harvest as one of their best opportunities to "make a winter stake," and "a winter stake" is their financial objective from March until November. Lumbering and ice cutting are the only kinds of outdoor work that employ large numbers of men during the winter months, and they can absorb only a portion of the seasonal laborers who work in our construction, railroad, agricultural and other "outdoor" industries during the summer months. Winter is likewise the dull season in many



Main Street in a prairie town of 1,500—somnolent even in harvest time

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



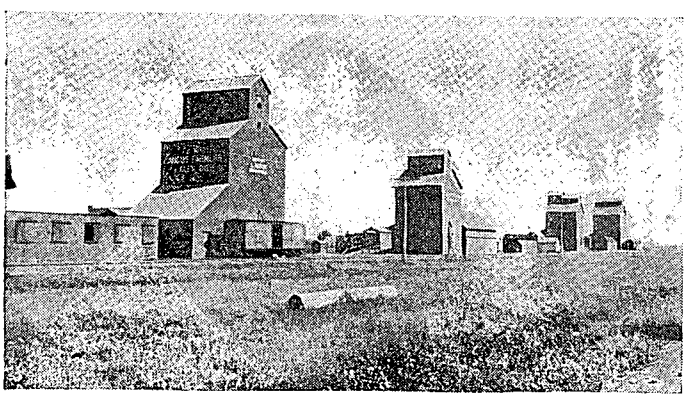
When the threshing crew crowd into his wagon the cook is the harvest king

manufacturing lines. Winter brings to the seasonal laborer a long period when work is scarce and living expensive. In the summer he can "jungle up" with his pals in a camp along the railroad or at the riverside; in winter he must have warmer clothes, sleep indoors and eat more food.

I knew one man, and heard of others, who came to Minneapolis each winter with the "stake" he had made in the harvest and in corn and potato picking during September and October, and deposited his "stake" with the hotel at which he roomed. He gave them a written authorization to set aside enough to pay for his board and room until spring, and dole out the rest to him as he asked for it, with a proviso that they should refuse to give him any of his money when he was drunk.

This class of transient laborers generally comes into the area that is harvesting along with the main body of the harvest army. Many of them have made the harvest regularly for twenty years or more. Others shift about different summers between harvest work, construction work and railroad work, taking whichever kind of job is at the time most advantageous or most easily obtained.

A STRIKING difference between individuals appears when one goes into the life stories and occupational habits of three or four thousand of the migratory laborers. The majority are drifters, who move from job to job and locality to locality as chance forces impel them; the others have reduced their work to a definite cycle of seasonal occupations from which they seldom depart. These cycles are made up in many different job combinations, few of which afford a full year's work. Study of them has suggested to me the practical question: "Is it not possible for a government employment service, by giving study to the cycles of individual seasonal laborers and to the seasonal fluctuations of the industries in which they are most largely employed, to work out a number of definite employment cycles, induce a large number of individuals to adopt one of these cycles, and assume responsibility for directing these individuals to their specific jobs at the different periods in the year?" The worker would thus have steadier employment and a more definite place in the social order. The seasonal



These elevators in Red River Valley, North Dakota, are typical of storage facilities through the Northwest

A Third of a Century!

The game but losing fight of a Wisconsin man

WHEN I met him he was fifty-six years old. He was born in Rock County, in southern Wisconsin, obtained a fourth grade education and started work when he was twelve years old. His father moved to a farm that year and needed his help.

He married and left home when he was twenty-two years old to work on a rented farm. But luck was against him from the start. At the end of two successive dry seasons he had lost everything he had.

He then worked in the woods for a year cutting cord wood; and the next year raised tobacco on shares. But the crop was poor.

Four years gone, and he hadn't a cent.

The next year he did general farming on shares and cleared $700 which he invested in horses and equipment and rented a farm. He did well.

The next year he bought a Rock county farm for $1,800. Afraid he was going to fail again, he sold out the following year for $2,000. He worked a farm on shares again the next year and barely broke even.

Then he went to South Dakota and rented a farm near Aberdeen. A dry season gave him a poor crop. In Clark county, South Dakota, his crops failed one year and were good the next. Three lean years followed, then his wife died, and the place he was renting was sold. That was more than twenty years ago. "I put my children off to school living in the homes of my brothers and sisters. I have never had them since and never will again."

Renting Dakota farms, he continued the struggle. Twenty-five years after he left his father's home he had $3,000. He invested $2,500 of it in timber land in northern Wisconsin and used the other $500 for "going capital" while cutting the timber. A cyclone swept through and destroyed so much timber that the saw-mill closed. He lost everything and went back to day labor again.

A year in a saw-mill was followed by a season threshing in South Dakota.

Asthma forced him to go to Colorado, and he went on from there to Saskatchewan, working in various places as a farm hand. He started to prove up on a Canadian homestead but would not forfeit his American citizenship.

After thirty-four years of toil, effort and sacrifice he has $450.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

industries would have available a more dependable and better labor supply. The reader is asked to keep this question in mind during the discussion of work cycles and individual life histories that follows.

The occupational cycles into which seasonal laborers drift differ with the section of the country. The Oklahoman who starts out as a seasonal laborer quite naturally finds work in the oil fields, cotton and wheat harvests, saw-mills, railroads, and cattle ranches. The Minnesotan relies principally upon lumbering, road construction, railroad work, and the wheat harvest. Individuals who remain in a certain section of the country, such as the Oklahoma, Kansas and Wyoming area, or Wisconsin, Minnesota and North Dakota, are more apt to settle down into a definite group of occupations, and even to return year after year to the seasonal employer, than migrants who drift all over the country.

There are many thousands of seasonal laborers who work in the woods each winter and the grain harvest each summer. North Dakota farmers frequently say that twenty years ago the majority of their harvest hands were lumber jacks from the woods of Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan. The woods give them four or five months of winter work and the harvest a couple of months of summer work. The three months between the closing of the lumber camps in the spring and the beginning of the harvest are filled in various ways, sometimes by loafing, sometimes by spring work on farms, railroad extra gangs, building or road construction or other outdoor work. In the fall, between the completion of threshing in September or early in October and departure for the woods in November or December, a vacation and a good time in some city is apt to fill the period for the man who has made money in the harvest. Otherwise, picking corn or potatoes or road building offer employment.

A North Dakotan who follows this cycle has worked in the woods in winter and the harvest in summer for thirteen consecutive years. A man approaching sixty years of age claimed thirty years on this cycle, at the end of which he didn't have a cent in the world. Both lumbering and the harvest take men away from the places where they find recreation, and when they finish a season they have some money with which to have a good time, are "fed up" on work, and crave pleasure and excitement.

A "fling" between two busy seasons is not indispensable, however. The Canadian Employment Service has had considerable success in transfering lumbermen directly from the camps to new jobs, especially farm jobs. Many of them are glad to avoid going to the large cities where their money slips away from them. They have had to go there in the past, however, to "connect up" with a new job. The Canadian government sends its employment officials into the lumber camps in the early spring and offers the woodsmen work to which they can go immediately. The very first time the experiment was tried, more than nine hundred woodsmen were transfered from the woods to farms needing men for their spring work.

Many of the woodsmen do not adhere closely to the woods-harvest cycle. In a typical case, a Montanan sometimes substitutes county road work or building construction for the harvest work. He has had eleven years of harvest experience but has worked in the harvest only three of the last five years. Another man, a Minnesotan who has made the Dakota harvest for thirty years, regularly works at bridge construction from March through July, between the woods and the harvest, then makes the Dakota harvest and threshing in August and September, and takes a month or two off before lumbering begins again. The ice harvest is substituted for the woods in many cases. The ice harvest generally permits a man to live in town, and he does not have to work more steadily than he wants to. It has a shorter busy season than lumbering. A wider gap intervenes between the closing down of the fall outdoor work and the beginning of ice cutting, and a larger gap between the end of the ice harvest and the opening of the spring jobs. Consequently more unemployment characterizes the work-year of men who feature the ice and the grain harvest as the main occupations of their year's work. On the average they are a less industrious type of men. Many of them lose a third of their time.

The building and harvest cycle occupies many thousands of men, only part of whom are transient

A Professional Harvester

HE considers Wichita his home, but he is seldom there. Forty-seven, unmarried and without dependents, he wanders and calls himself a miner, though for twenty years he has made the wheat harvest regularly and spent most of his time above ground. During recent years his annual cycle has consistently included the rice harvest, the wheat harvest and ranch work, with occasional employment on the railroad extra gang—and frequent periods of idleness. Twelve jobs a year was his own estimate of his shifting, nine months his estimate of the total work period each year. When interviewed he had worked fifteen of the nineteen days he had been in the harvest area. He has $500 in the bank at Wichita, his total savings.

Another harvester job cycle is common in the upper Mississippi valley. John Luhrein is a typical illustration. Forty years ago he started life as a farm hand and then owned and operated a farm in Iowa for fifteen years. For eight years since separating from his wife he has harvested in the summer, picked potatoes in the fall and shucked corn in the winter. In the spring he does nothing. There are hundreds, if not thousands of men in the Mississippi valley who make their living harvesting, "wheat, spuds and corn." In the lower Mississippi valley cotton, beet sugar, corn and wheat furnish the harvest cycles.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A crew threshing in the Dakotas—all young and inclined to find adventure as well as cash in making the harvest

laborers. Hundreds of building mechanics resident in or near the wheat belt work at their trades during most of the year but make the harvest annually. Of three Sioux City carpenters, two had made the harvest fifteen times, and the other twenty times. Painters, electricians, plasterers, plumbers and other building mechanics of long harvest experience are in the fields each year. At the end of the season they return to their homes and families. Beside them are a smaller number of migratory building laborers, who drift from place to place working for contractors and fill in with miscellaneous jobs. Building work and the harvest constitute their work cycle; other jobs are accepted only in emergencies.

A considerable number of men follow agricultural cycles. An Arkansas Negro who spends most of his year in the hay, wheat and rice harvests, and an Iowan who goes to North Dakota for spring plowing, to Minnesota and North Dakota for haying, to the Dakota-Minnesota wheat harvest, potato picking in western Minnesota, and corn picking in Iowa, are typical.

MANY migratory laborers do not follow a definite cycle but circulate through from five to a dozen occupations. At each season of the year they are looking for one or two or three kinds of work that might be available at the time. In the winter such a man's options may be the woods, ice harvest and dishwashing in a restaurant; in the spring, building, railroad work and farming; in the summer, railroad work, harvesting and highway construction; in the fall, the potato and corn harvests, road work, building or railroad work and tile ditching.

Some of these men of diverse occupations are capable fellows who have tried their hands at a variety of things and are fair workmen at most of them. Others have drifted more or less aimlessly from job to job since boyhood. In many cases the communities in which they spent their early years did not offer much opportunity of acquiring either skill or a steady occupation. A large city or a well developed manufacturing town offers a diversity of occupation that permits the youth to choose a suitable occupation, if he is so inclined. On the middle western plains the range of opportunity has been narrow. During the summer, a man can work on a farm, in a store, garage, repair

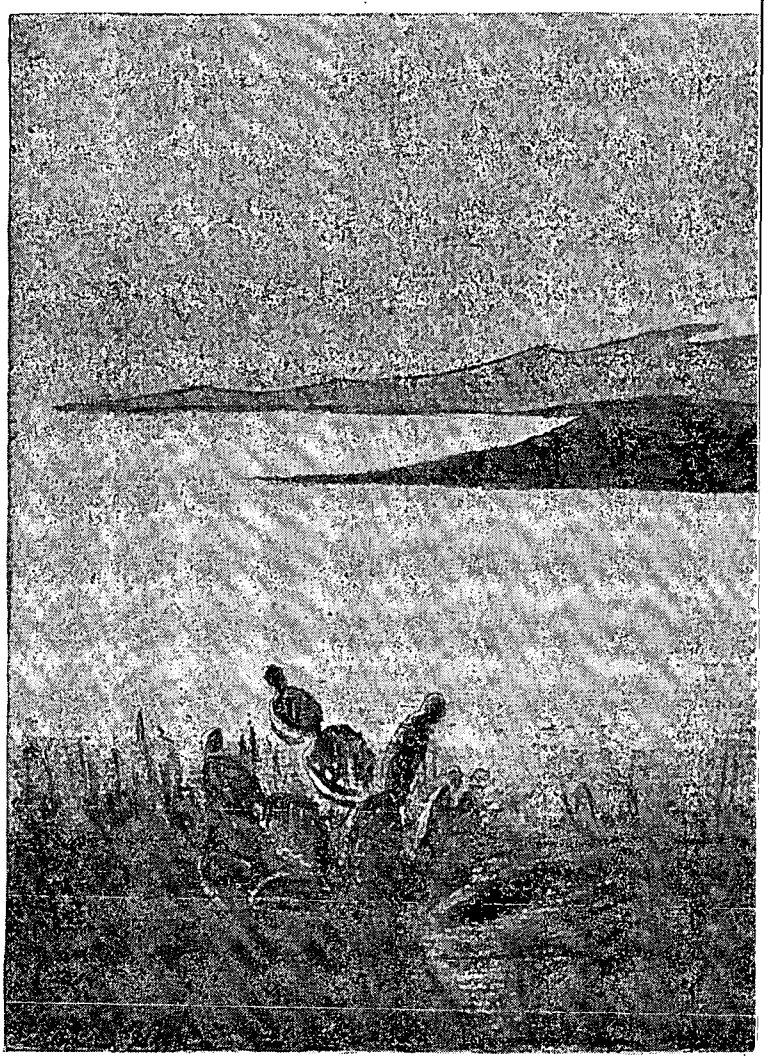
(*Continued on page* 503)

The Fork of the Road

HE was only twenty-two, a North Dakota lad. Unconscious of the issues involved, he was drifting toward "the road." Born on a Canadian farm, he had come to Grand Forks in childhood. He had but a fifth grade education and no occupational training. His first job for wages was obtained when he was ten years old, helping on a farm. The next eight years were spent on farms. At eighteen, he obtained work with a plumber during the early summer, made the Dakota harvest in August, and then went to a Minnesota lumber camp in the fall. The next two years were spent in the woods in winter and harvest in summer, with a couple of months' idleness between the break-up of the camps in the spring and the beginning of the harvest. In 1921 he worked on a farm in the spring between the woods and the harvest. He had worked for a time as a hotel fireman and was hoping to obtain work as a hotel fireman instead of going to the woods at the end of the 1921 harvest.

There are thousands of lads in this boy's situation each year. In most cases chance decides the issue. A steady job makes of some of them steady men; a few more years of drifting, whatever the reason, produces the floater.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Neighbo

By LILIAN MARCHANT SKINNER

A LITTLE girl in the neighborhood of our settlement in New York whose parents were Sicilian born, said to me: "My father is always talking about that island. He says it is Paradise." Pindar thought so too. In his first Nemean Ode he said:

> Scatter now some bright praise for the island which Zeus, the Lord of Olympus, gave to Persephone, and confirmed to her by shaking his locks that he would support prosperous Sicily, fairest spot of the fruitful earth, by the wealthy excellence of cities.

Nearly all the Sicilians among whom I have lived from time to time—in Endicott Street in the North End of Boston, in East Boston, in Rhode Island and in New York—had that love for the old homeland of which the little girl spoke to me half complainingly. There is much coming and going where such ties hold, though the journey be long and costly. Their appreciation for what America has to offer them is no less among these simple people because of their loyalty to the land of Demeter—the Mother Earth whose very image is so often hidden from the drab outlook of our tenement streets. Nor do they leave their saints when they cross the western ocean bearing the gifts of belief in us and of radiant hope. On the hill paths of Mola passes a *processione grande,* all the mountainside rejoicing: through the streets of New York passes a similar procession with music, lights and banners, the flag of Italy and the flag of our own land. I saw such a procession just the other day. Young men, sturdy and brown, held high the statue of San Guiliano, followed by older men and older women wearing the black lace scarf of Italy. The saint was splendid in a silver helmet and three golden feathers, and with serene countenance was carrying the sword of his martyrdom. Over his right arm hung a green mantle of dollar bills, pinned together, flowing down in an increasing cascade over the electric lights and the pots of pink roses at his feet. A bill thrown from an upper window fell near me as I watched. The people crowded to fasten their offerings to the garments of the saint. Everywhere were the signs of *festa,* bright-colored balloons to buy, confetti, stands with *dolce* and *torone,* or with *cicci,* little beans; everywhere was simplicity and brightness. They are as simple and as bright as the outline of mighty Mongibello in the western sun.

ENTHRONED and dominating lies Etna. The peasants call it "Mongibello," their mountain beautiful. Their tiny villages lie on the peaks of cliffs like nests of birds high in the radiant air. Looking toward its majestic and shining loveliness, they are neighbors to Etna, and these people of Etna somehow win not only surpassing beauty but also surpassing courage, high-hearted courage. It was from Sicily that Garibaldi got his earliest help. In Catania is the Piazza dei Martiri, of the Martyrs, those who gave their lives that Italy might be united; in Palermo is the Via dei Mille, the Way of the Thousand, those who first answered Italy's cry to be free. For ten long years Don Guiseppe of Catania was in hiding, a price on his head. "*Un gran conspiratore,*" cried his daughter, "our own *babbo,* so loving to us children. There was nothing of liberty," she told me, "no progress, no schools, *niente,* nothing. They put my father and his friends in prison; some were killed, but always they worked and planned, and now in fifty years see what we have done." She herself was the first Sicilian lady to hold a public *conferenza.* "It is the Sicilian nature," she said, "that it must be free. As in Etna the fire burns, and it must have vent; it must find a way and it must be a great way, a noble

THE world h religious faith when, the other c lava, released by th this little Sicilian saint whose statue seemed to comman with the common ging of trenches to and heroism as th of their possession offerings to the sa deed, these peasan immigrants of lon the parents and grants to the mo Miss Skinner, wh on the slopes of H ings of their kin in New York te share with us, a backgrounds of t Hellas in our mi

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Etna

Illustrations by Madeleine Powers

ied by the simple le of Linguaglossa stream of molten f Etna, threatened heir trust in the of the mountain ı crater, combined dictated the dig- low, their sagacity the most precious d to make votive Greek. And, in- ffspring of Greek y of them are also present-day immi- ores of America. isited the villages o them the greet- land villages and brought back, to e of the cultural ioved children of

way. My father said, 'for my country all; nothing for myself.'" "We are proud," she added.

There is still the same fire in the Sicilian peasant boy who breaks loose from age-old associations to seek freedom beyond the seas.

Ten years ago, after service in the army, Giorgio Chillemi went to the United States. "Why did you go?" I asked him. "How did you go so far and alone? How could you?" He replied, "I was in the army for three years, and I heard them talk about that country, and I said 'I go there'; so when I came back from making a soldier, I went there." The simplicity of great adventure, indeed!

On the day before the festa of the Natale he returned to see his father and mother, bringing gifts. He showed me coats hanging on the wall, a handsome coat lined with fur, for his father, and a beautiful silk-lined one for his mother. "But they won't put them on," he said regretfully. We walked together through the little town, the tiny stone-paved streets, the houses without light, without chimneys, no drainage, no sanitation, no good water. "I didn't know any other way," he said. "But now I know the difference." He pointed out the *proprieta* of his father on a neighboring mountainside. I could see the lemons, the oranges, the olives and the grapes. The neighbors of Etna have fruitful fields and reap many crops, four times a year they gather lemons. Chillemi has another property on a mountainside further away—three hours' travel, even with a donkey; but nearly every day they bring fagots or grass back to Mola, and there were always oranges or nuts for me or an "egg of morning."

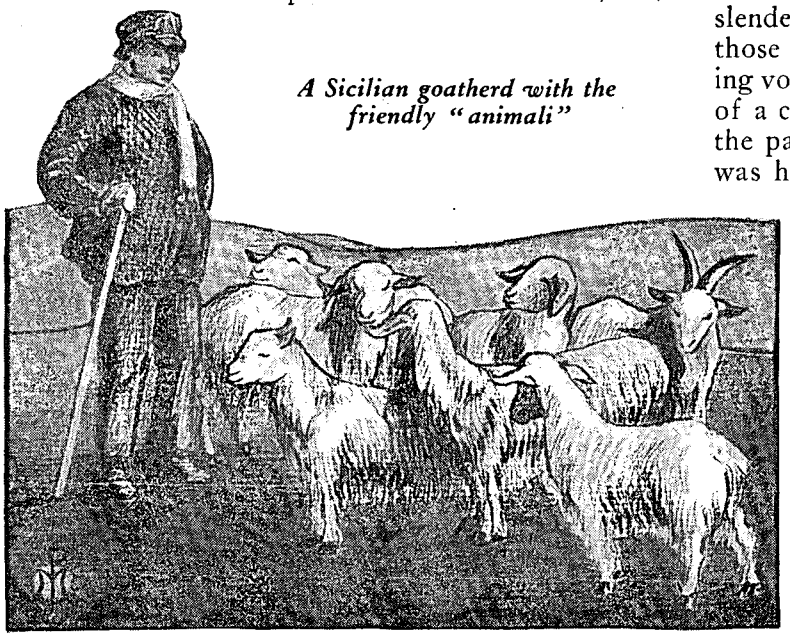
"Would you like to see my house?" he asked. He took me up an outer stair to a single room where were some boards on little trestles, quilts laid upon them. Here the family sleep. Below, against the solid rock dug deep, is the room where the *animali* sleep at night and where by day all the family gather with the friendly animals. Outside against the wall is the tiny kitchen—only a sheltered open fire of sticks where water for macaroni is boiled. Some of the more prosperous houses have an oven inside where bread is baked in the ashes—without a chimney; but all of them are built for centuries. "You know how it is," Chillemi said. "In America there is the grocery store, all nice and clean, you only have to telephone and there is everything you need right on your table, all nice and clean; but if you want to eat here everybody runs around and they all call out, 'Where's a soldo?' There is the goats' milk and the eggs from the hens, and my mother does the best she can, but she don't know no other way."

Another time Giorgio showed me the statue of the town's patron saint, and exclaimed, "Oh, if you could see him carried in the procession of all the people. They hold him high with music and with fireworks and all the people shout, 'Vivo San Giorgio'." His face glowed. "He takes good care of Mola." And in a lower tone he added, "And he takes care of me. He is my name saint."

Very early one morning, Etna glowing pink at sunrise, Giorgio came down from Mola, and even as the Greeks came to Naxos, so he set his face toward the new and western land. The very morning was in his face and look as it might have been in that of a young Greek twenty centuries before. His father said afterward, "I went with my boy to Messina." This was the final going, as they both well knew. Ten years before it had been the brave adventure toward an untried life; now it was home-going. "They think it's all right to live this way," Giorgio had said. They knew only the old way, but he had found the new and he must follow.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FIFTY thousand refugees, the very children of Etna, tillers of its soil and inheritors of its matchless bounty, have lately been crowding in terror down its slopes. Devoted to their homes, they embrace their trees and kiss their vines as they leave all to Etna's gigantic burning. Here live still the beloved and feared gods of the older world. Passionate and richly endowed must be the children of these fields spread over Etna's fires, their spirits always aware of the invisible bounty which flowers in the beauty of rich Sicily. In the wanderings of Odysseus, Homer shows us Sicily where



A Sicilian goatherd with the friendly "animali"

> all things spring up for them without sowing or ploughing,
> wheat and barley, and vines which bear the rich clusters of wine,
> and the rain of Zeus gives them increase.

To cross the interior of Sicily means to pass along the ways of the elder gods, the earth-loving, earth-tending gods. Here Persephone lived among the flowers of Enna till great Pluto snatched her from the earth mother. In caverns, at the base of Etna, Polyphemus herded his flocks. Near Catania lie the three great rocks he threw into the sea after Odysseus who knew well the shores of Trinacria, three-pointed Sicily, "rising from its foam."

The loveliest view of Etna is from the east. And here live its closest neighbors—peasants on the mountainside of the tossed-up Peloric range of limestone rock. From the sea the great promontory looks like a bull's head, its two heights the horns of the bull with an undulating hill between. Ages ago Theocles, the Athenian, pushed his trireme into the curve of the shore which he named Naxos and later on, climbing up to the widest plateau, the Greeks built Tauromenium, which we call today Taormina. This was the beginning of Magna Graecia, and Naxos was its Battery Park—the first immigrant station. Here came the Dorians who settled Syracuse, and Ionians on their way to Catania, or to Callipolis, "beautiful city," the modern Giarre.

Sicily was the four corners of the ancient world, near Africa, near Europe, and the connecting link between the East and the West. The Greeks settled all of Sicily and south Italy and made it their own, Magna Graecia, greater Greece. In Syracuse is still the great stone theater where Æschylus sat. As in Greece so in Sicily, the people lived in the very heart of beauty.

Pan is not dead in Sicily. Every goatherd has a slender pipe of reed, cut with emblems as ancient as those on the peasant's staff. There is always a singing voice on the mountain, or the often repeated tune of a child who is reaping the grass, or the note of the pastorale from the bagpipe of a shepherd. It was his pipe—or was it that of Dionysos, himself the Son of God, Zeus, in Greek mythology—that welcomed the Bambino, the Christ Child, when the peasants came down from the hills on the day before Christmas, Festa di Natale. On the mountain paths I heard their greetings, *Benedisce*—May He bless. After the midnight mass the old priest came down the steps of the Duomo carrying in his arms the image of the Bambino, followed by four little acolytes carrying lights. Yet before went an old shepherd with his bagpipe playing the pastorale, the hymn of the Sicilian shepherds. Following after came all the people, young men, old women, children, every one, to do honor to the Bambino. Pressed against the walls of the houses they crowded through the narrow street of the town.

Coming up from the sea along the Via Teocle, still called after the Athenian who walked that way twenty-six centuries ago, I passed the shrine of the Madonna which is at the entrance to every Sicilian town. A small notice begs the passerby to give an *obolo* to the Madonna—this Greek word another surviving symbol of an ancient heritage.

The ancient city of Taurominium had its *castello* on the cliff towering above it. The old emblem of the town is of a bull with a woman's head crowned—because she was a free city—and holding up two castles, her own *castello* and Castel' Mola on the highest cliff, also a free city and almost inaccessible. No one ever conquered Mola, not even the Saracens—it was too high—and not even the Normans—it was too little. No one knows its age. Some time during the Middle Ages San Georgio became its patron saint, so that the 23rd of April became the great day of Mola with its procession in his honor. Saint of great England and of little Mola—how it holds the world together! The saints are the true internationalists.

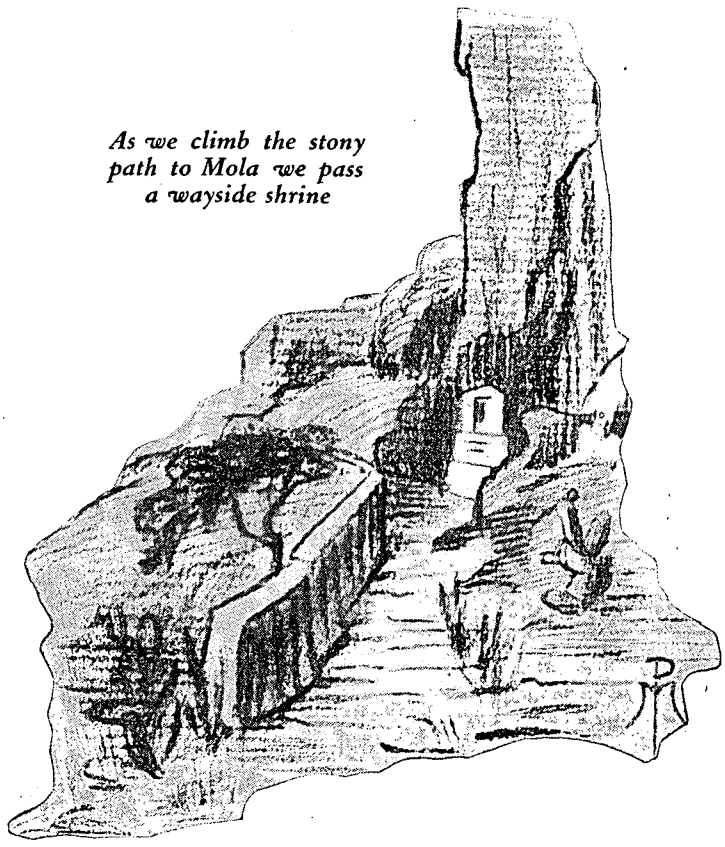
AT the crossroads of the mountain pass near the Dazario's house where taxes must be paid on all that the peasants bring down, there is an ancient fountain whose water runs clear and plentiful. Down to this fountain climb the women of Mola to do their washing, and then up the steep, steep path, carrying wet clothes on their heads to dry

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

them on the bare rocks west of the town toward Etna. All the water to drink in the house Maria Chillemi carries up on her head or shoulder in a Greek water jar, an *amfora*. As they climb the rocky mountain paths, peasants call to each other their ancient greeting *Benedisce,* "May He bless," and the reply *Benedisce,* "He blesses."

Climbing down the old Via Saraceni, the road which the Saracens tried to climb, past the old chapel of San Biagi, surrounded by asphodel, I found an old woman sitting on the gray rock, knitting. All day she sits there herding her three goats; and she treats them like children, calling them by name, Ciccia, Francesca and Facilbedda, the beautiful quick one. As we climbed down the steep path together, she told me that every morning at dawn she leaves her house in the village on the lower plateau to come up to find good grass for her goats in the crevices between the rocks.

Donna Concetta, who is more well-to-do, having sons in America, occupies a better house and does not need to climb the mountain paths to herd the goats. She takes her well-used *tamborina* and, coming across the tiny street with it, dances the *tarantella* under our Karobi tree. Her feet are light as a girl's, and all during the season of Lent she makes us promises to dance it again at Le Palme, the great Festa of Palms. She sits on the terraces below our house and whenever I pass gives me Sicilian greetings, a gesture of affection or of farewell with grief, gestures full of passionate meaning. One day as I descended the terrace she rose and, approaching me with great dignity, put her arms about me and gave me wonderful Sicilian kisses. *Filia Bedda,* she said, "beautiful daughter," a Sicilian peasant's acceptance of affection which had journeyed far to find the Sicilian peasants. Always she has a greeting for me. *Buon' alzata, buon' pranzo, buon' appetito,* or after dinner *buon' digestione.* If she sees me working, *buon' lavoro,* or *buon' studio* and always *buone cose, tante belle cose*—"May many beautiful things happen to you."



As we climb the stony path to Mola we pass a wayside shrine

Donna Concetta is still as light-footed as a girl and with her well-worn tamborina she dances at every festa

At the end of Lent, at the moment when the church bells rang out the news on Saturday afternoon that the fast was over, Donna Concetta began hammering, and all the *contadini* in the little street began making every sort of noise they could. A little girl danced along clapping her hands. Noise, emotion, gayety, they are always there. And always devotion to the festivities of the church, to the saints and to the Madonna who is as dear to the Sicilian peasants as their mothers' faces.

In Mola, San Georgio has his own church, but on great days he is brought to the Duomo, where he is splendid in the sight of all the people in his shining armor with the dragon under his feet and a tiny figure of the princess whom he has rescued. To the Duomo come all the peasants to the early mass. One Sunday I was there with Maria Chillemi, who lingered behind the others. Her son, for the second time an adventurer into America, she well knew she might never see again. As we walked together to her little house, she said simply: *La mia Madonna me aijuterà, il Nostro Signore me assisterà*—"Our Lord will aid, my Madonna will help me."

Outside the western gate of Mola, sitting on gray rocks against gray walls, their linen spread in the hot sun, looking toward "deep-wooded Etna" with its shining crown, golden blossom of broom at their feet, sat three very old women—one of them knitting on curved Sicilian needles, another spinning on the distaff used in Homer's time. Were they the Fates themselves, weaving as they gazed into the West the fortunes of Georgio and the sons of other Sicilian mothers, who will never come back where the great Titan is chained under Etna's "proud and lofty head?"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Industrial Technique and Social Ethics

By E. C. LINDEMAN

Ever since there has been government in the world, men have dreamed and longed for anarchy; for an ideal state where there would be no laws or masters. Ever since there has been labor in the world, men have dreamed and longed for leisure, as an ideal condition where the Divine curse of earning their bread by the sweat of their brow would be lifted from them. From Ethics and Technics by Richard Nikolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi; Neue Freie Presse, Vienna (The Living Age).

ANARCHY and leisure are the universal ideals which are never achieved but which are never relinquished. Western civilization gives both ideals a wide berth. It is only the diminishing few, the "spiritually emancipated" souls, who do not in some measure need and demand the protection of government; and it is only the rich who know leisure. But, in defiance of the postulates of the politico-economic determinism of western civilization, human beings persist in demanding freedom and leisure. Small bits of doubtful leisure they may obtain by the methods of force, but of freedom there is continuously less. Commerce and nationalism are the twin controls which stand between human nature's demands for leisure and liberty.

The compulsions of commerce and industry arise out of man's necessity to live; the compulsions of nationalism and patriotism inhere in our forms of social organization which are patterned upon extraneous authority and coercion. The aim of social organization is a "maximum of economy and a minimum of controlled action"; but modern civilization has reversed the process; we travel continuously in the direction of a minimum of economy and a maximum of control.

Is there a higher form of control? My assumption is that there is, and that it lies within the stuff of human nature itself. Because there are no better terms, this control must be designated by its traditional and somewhat discredited name of ethics, or morality.

My further assumption is that modern life is dominated by an industrial technique which is in essence in conflict with ethical values. One school of thinkers which recognizes the nature of this conflict points to a solution in government, or the extension of political control to the industrial fabric in such manner as to safeguard the interests of the individual and society. This does not appear to me to be an adequate avenue of release. Government represents another mode of extraneous control. It is an evasion of this point to affirm that the government and the people are one so long as the government represents a majority or a plurality only Effective and creative use of minorities has not yet been attempted, is not in fact an accepted part of our political theory or practice. But these are premature arguments. Our discussion will be hastened to fruitfulness if we give attention at once to an analysis of the relations between industrial technique and social ethics.

When man changed from a tool-using to a machine-using organism, the industrial technique began. The implications of this change cannot be overstated or over-emphasized. A tool is an extension of the human organism. Its use necessitates no unusual organic adaptations. A spade or a hoe is simply the human hand or foot extended. A machine, on the other hand, is something more than an extension of the human body. It is designed to perform a specific task in relation to certain materials. The human organism must adapt itself to the machine. This involves neural as well as muscular adaptations. The consequences are at first physiological, but they translate themselves ultimately into sociological and psychological terms. Industrial technique is in its very beginnings a departure from customs, habits and mores. Industry and industrial social forms are usually called dynamic, and it is this departure from accustomed modes which contributes the dynamic quality. An industrial society moves quickly on its own behalf since it is not compelled to deal with traditional human factors. Its processes are primarily technological, materialistic.

Social control, which is here taken to mean a conscious attempt on the part of society to create social situations in which the greatest net total of good human experience may exist, moves at a slow rate of speed. Its primary aim is to control human nature, and one reason for its slow rate of progress is the theological tendency to control human nature by mystical and extraneous forms of authority. In Dewey's words, "The theologians have thought to honor the divine by disparaging the human." Theological ethics have stood in the way of a real study of human nature, and hence in the way of fundamental ethics. Customs, traditions, mores, habits, which are the raw materials out of which ethics emerge, are by their very nature slow-moving phenomena. They are built up by accretions of minute and oft-repeated activities. Thus the nature of industrial technique and the nature of ethics account for the hiatus which exists between the two. But this distinction, which is largely one of time, is not sufficient to account for the present disorganized state of society.

All "dark ages" are characterized by a sense of futility, a lack of faith in human capacity. Ours is a modern "dark age" because we are caught within the clutches of controls which we do not understand and which, consequently, plant in our hearts the seeds of futility and despair. The modern world

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is not merely disorganized; it is baffled and balked. The role of the reformer was never at lower ebb. To label any human effort as "uplift" or reform is sufficient to damn it in advance in the eyes of the sophisticated.

Contrary to the oft-repeated and absurd dictum that human nature cannot be changed, the industrial technique has changed human nature. The machine has impinged itself upon certain elements in humanity with such force that it has altered whole idea-systems and created new behavior-patterns. Industrial technique has been responsible for changes in human nature comparable to the changes frequently noted by historians after great wars and infiltrations of the conquerors into the conquered people's culture. This is not the place to discuss such changes as are implicit in the increase of goods, the increase of population, the rise of urban centers, the decay of rural life—i. e., the ordinary effects of the transition from tools to machines. We are now concerned with those deeper and more profound effects which in turn become causes directing behavior and in the end are found operative in the neuro-muscular system of man. Man not only does different things, but he produces rationalizations of the acts he performs which are quite unique. For example, a person in control of industrial technique, an employer of labor, may now affirm ardent convictions of political democracy and at the same time exercise industrial control in the most autocratic manner. This phenomenon would not be unique were it not for the fact that this same man has no capacity for realizing the fundamental discrepancy, the essential dishonesty, if you please, of his position. He does not understand that he has taken an unethical attitude toward life.

Industrial Technique and the Shift of Authority

It will be seen that we are now dealing with that perplexing quantity or quality called "power." The industrial technique has brought into being new forms of power which are not only changing the face of the earth but are also changing the face of man. For our immediate purposes it will suffice if we understand that neither those who have power over others nor those upon whom power is exercised have a clear knowledge of the nature of this new force. Thus far the only answer which the worker has made to the new and sinister power of industrial control is to confront this power with another form of power, namely, organized labor and the strike. To confront one power-group with another power-group in frankness is a process of some value. The mere confronting, however, will produce no creative results; the two forms of power must interact in relation to mutual concerns. Mere reaction is not enough; there must be interaction. This cannot happen, of course, so long as the opposing power-groups utilize the methods and the modes of force and coercion, which is only saying that nothing fruitful can come out of the confronting of power until the process is seen in the light of what it patently is, namely, an ethical relation. The new authoritarianism of the machine must either be intellectualized, spiritualized, or it must ultimately be removed by revolution as other forms of dissociated authority have always been removed.

Industrial Technique and Human Values

Industrial technique has produced a civilization of dual values. The values which the machine has thus far created are material, and the values which the power-group in control of machines accentuates are pecuniary. Industrial technique is a relation between the machine and raw materials. When this relation is understood one need no longer be astonished to learn that industrial technique did not create safety appliances which represent a relation between machines and workers, but was forced to utilize them by the community. Those of us who have had a somewhat intimate knowledge of the struggle to secure workmen's compensation, child-labor and minimum wage legislation, appreciate the fact that none of these advances is secured without bitter resistance from the power-group in control of machines. Thus there has arisen a dual standard of values: the industrial technique is interested in perpetuating material values while the community is interested in perpetuating human values. The battle goes forward in two spheres: on the one hand are the trade unions representing a fighting symbol to the worker, and urging him forward to press his claims, to state his values and to make inroads upon the employer's power by means of his own power, and through the methods of force; on the other hand stands the community, represented by the symbol of representative government and justice—the legislatures and the courts upon whom falls more and more the burden of umpiring the combat. Whatever success the community has achieved in elevating values, and one must grant that the successes are meager, has been the result of transferring the community ethics to the legal realm. Again, we resort to a reliance upon authority from the outside rather than from the inside. The interests represented and the values concerned are now determined not by what the community assumes is just, but by what the court decides; and the decisions of the court are based largely upon precedents growing out of relations which have little in common with the modern industrial technique and its consequent civilization. Once more we face a moral issue. Which values are best? How is the determination of values to proceed? And, how long can we live in the environment of a dual set of values—a dual morality—in which the only recourse is to formal law? This is, of course, the pertinent consideration since it is evident that the machinery of law can only persist so long as revolution is postponed; it has no capacity to withstand or to restrain a disintegrating civilization. The law can only assist in maintaining a peaceful *status quo* so long as the law and the *status quo* are more or less synchronous; when the situation itself changes abruptly or entirely and the law is invoked to perpetuate a set of values which no longer exists, revo-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lution is inevitable. History has at least taught this one lesson, namely, that there are no divine rights, whether vested in kings, courts, or legislatures. The only rights which may ultimately win the laurel of divinity are those which emerge from the relations between human beings.

The Ethical Situation

My discussion is based upon the further assumption that the norms of behavior, ethics, emerge from activities, and that the significant norms of behavior arise out of necessary activities. Behavior is positively ethical when it conforms to those modes which are commonly accepted by the community. Ideals are the forerunners of ethical modes, the forms of behavior toward which one may strive, forms which are held to be desirable, but which are not yet incorporated in the community ethic. We are now dealing with a restricted sphere of ethics which has been called "social ethics" merely for convenience. The term is used to indicate those forms of behavior which grow out of group adherences. Those acts which are peculiar to you because you are a member of a particular group may be roughly classified as social forms of ethics.

There can be no doubt that it is in the realm of social ethics that modern civilization is grossly deficient. One needs only to look out upon modern life to see nations embittered against nations, workers placed over against employers, Negroes against whites, Jews against Gentiles, Catholics against Protestants, the country against the city, the Orient against the Occident—in short, innumerable conflicts between groups of the human family. It requires only a second observation to lead to the conviction that there is no available system of ethics, no accepted mode of behavior, no moral or social technique for dealing with these conflicts. There exists no workable sanction for the conflicting interests and rights of groups. There are no social ethics.

The economic interests are so universal, so intimately connected with physiological necessity, and in a sense so underlying and fundamental, that it seems imperative that we devote our energies to this conflict. In fact, it seems quite probable that unless we can produce sufficient intelligence to create social ethics in this sphere there can ensue only a heightening of the other conflicts and in the end complete disintegration. There is still time to bring about a fusion between ethics and industry, but the time may come, and sooner than those deluded by temporary lulls of prosperity and fitful revivals of capitalism are aware, when the new social ethics can be erected only upon the sacrificial altar of human lives, or not at all.

On the following page I have attempted to point out in abbreviated form the various ethical relationships inherent in modern industry. We see industrial society as a gigantic conflict between interests, rights and values. On the one side stands the machine, industrial technique, with its utilitarian, dynamic, materialistic set of values. On the other side stands human nature with its unquenchable desires for freedom and release, representing values which are social, cultural and ethical. The picture is, of course, too simple, but it can only be made graphic in this manner.

Is There a Way Out

Man's efforts to be free from this dilemma are in turn heroic and pathetic. There are, for example, those feeble attempts of the sentimental employer to solve the problem by so-called welfare programs. Here we see the situation at its worst. The employer becomes cognizant of the fact that the workers do not live the full life. They live in shabby houses, partake of few luxuries, are deprived of the amenities of the arts, and participate in drab amusements. Out of the excess of his spoils and the fullness of his life the benevolent employer conceives of ways in which the worker's life can be made more tolerable. He gives him more things.

Heavy enough is the burden upon the soul of him who walks the streets of a modern industrial community, but the gardens of company-owned plats surrounded by monotonous dwellings—called homes—become the floral symbols of death itself. The dwellers in such homes are presumed to be satisfied, contented workers. The gifts of "him who has" have driven from their hearts the spirit of revolt. They bear their burden with patience and their yoke is no longer heavy. How superficial, how shallow, how stupid—and how pathetic! Such recipients of industrial dole are not contented human beings. They are, in fact, no longer human. They have accepted the animal plane of life, and in their inner hearts they can have naught but contempt for their shabby compromise. The Kingdom of God is no longer in them but has been vicariously transferred to the employer. Discontent, the desire to improve one's status and to share in the larger life—to be the master of one's destiny is not merely the quality which makes man divine but also the quality which makes man human.

Then there is the heroic effort of the Russian proletariat in which compromise is thrown to the winds, in which the participants add spiritual zeal to force and in one fell swoop cast the entire politico-economic system overboard. One may disparage the cruelty incident to this procedure, or one may be wholly unsympathetic toward the Russian revolution, but one cannot deny its heroic proportions. The period 1914-1918 will be known for many cruelties and many sudden displays of idealism, but it is destined to be known chiefly as the period in which a whole people abandoned abruptly the accustomed mode of life and attempted to build anew. The war itself was traditional and produced only traditional results, but the Russian revolution had in it the seeds of a mighty creative effort of man to reassert himself and be his own master.

These two illustrations are used because they typify the two extreme methods of approaching the industrial problem. One is the method of capitulation and compromise, and the other is the method of non-compromise, of active resistance, of revolu-

(*Continued on page* 506)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Can Industry Face Seven Ways at Once?

MORAL responsibility includes the whole of life. If the relations of human beings have any significance at all, they are relations which produce ethical results. The person who adheres strictly to the accepted codes of personal morals and has no evolving set of ethical norms for his group relations is obviously a dishonest and immoral person. His protective use of the petty moralities and conventionalities is nothing but a sham and a delusion, a compensation for his failure to live the good life in the larger and more significant realm. The chief impact of a person's life comes through his group activities, and if he is to make any contribution to the larger life it will be found predominantly in such relations. Failure to recognize this fact accounts for the existence of so many good people who are thoroughly bad. The church suffers in an industrial age chiefly because it fairly lacks the intelligence and the courage to take an unequivocal position on this point. If ethics are to function in the family but not in the chamber of commerce, in the church but not in the board of directors, in the Rotary club but not in the factory —then we may as well have no ethics, for the places where we talk about ethics are relatively unimportant while the places where we act significantly shape our lives and other lives and determine whether we are building a miserable or a joyful world.

SOCIAL ethics imply joint responsibilities. Two persons can live ethically in relation to each other only when they are conscious of their mutual interests and responsibilities. Two groups can act justly with each other only when the mutual responsibilities and interests are recognized. In industry as it is now organized there exist five distinct groups: the stockholders, the directors, the management, the workers and the community. Each group now lives in an ethical atmosphere which is independent of and frequently divergent to the ethical atmosphere of every other group. To be strictly inclusive in the use of a sociological approach to this problem one would need to include two other groups, namely, the courts and the politicians:

The *stockholders* live in the atmosphere of traditional ethics and thereby escape the responsibilities incident to their relationship to industry.

The *directors,* acting as the representatives of the stockholders, live in an atmosphere of almost purely pragmatic ethics; they stand midway between the stockholders and the management and insist upon practical results from the industry—results which are visual, that is, profits.

The *management* exercises three functions: it deals directly with the politician, with the worker and with the technologist. Some of its standards are taken directly from the machine, some from the politician and some from the workers. Its policies are shifting and uncertain. Efficiency is its goal, and it recognizes human values only under pressure and then by compromise.

The *workers* live in the realm of necessity. As workers they must perforce accept a utilitarian mode of action. As members of families they are affected by the inevitable demands of a better life and a widening culture. They can assert these demands only through organized opposition to the management.

The *courts* live in the realm of tradition. They can only participate in enlarging ethics as legislature-made law enables them to transcend the precedents and the procedure of the past.

The *politician* as a representative of all the people is in a most uncomfortable position. He ostensibly seeks to follow the will of the greater number and actually follows the will of those who possess for the moment the greatest power. His ethical atmosphere is most doubtful since he cannot depart too far from the traditional and still hold his position while he must at the same time deal with the acute problems of the present time.

The *community,* the public, as now conceived is an anomaly. There can be no community in an industrial society until the above-mentioned groups live in the same ethical atmosphere. Modern life *is* group life. The real community is the totality of the interactions of all the groups. Until there is some procedure and technique for such interaction, it is absurd to speak of public opinion, of the will of the people, or of democracy.

THE industrial situation is then seen as one in which groups have arisen with their own sets of values. These values emerge from divergent interests. Each group claims the right of its particular interest and forms behavior-patterns in conformity with the fight to maintain those rights. Interests and rights become mutually exclusive in the minds of the fighting groups, so that we ultimately reach an impasse, an ethical dilemma in which the right can only be stated in terms of power. Obviously, such a situation of morally disinfected groups cannot last. Power expressed in terms of force contains the germs of its own destruction. Relations between groups cannot be improved by force—for the conquered group remains as the embittered group, awaiting only the day when the fortunes of power shift to its side, when revenge comes sweet.

E. C. L.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEIGHBORS

MARGARET ROBINSON, the Near East Relief worker who, in June, captured and converted the famous Greek bandit Barbounis on the island of Crete into a regular member of the Greek army, comes from Grand Rapids and is a graduate of Mt. Holyoke College. This bandit had for months interfered with relief work and, in fact, had terrorized the people of the island for fifteen years. Miss Robinson got in touch with him and secured for him a pardon, provided he would, with his followers, join the Greek army at the Turkish frontier near Dedeagatch—a condition which the bandit has loyally carried out.

From a letter to her parents, published in the Grand Rapids Herald, it appears that Miss Robinson is not only a courageous and efficient relief worker but has a decided sense of humor. Thus, during a trip on donkey-back,

> . . . of course, we fell into the clutches of the inevitable café keeper who'd been to America four years and therefore charged us accordingly.

Evidently that was a frequent experience.

A man on a poor gray donkey joined us. The donkey's neck was pink with blood, he'd been pricked so often with the spiked pole. We quite hated his company, but his gait kept him with us for an hour. He said, "donkey street-car my country," and told my stubborn donkey to "get to hell out of here"; so I knew he, too, had been four years in America.

Among her varied experiences were acting as godmother—an incident that brought with it initiation into strange and wonderful rituals, and a trip made with "one mule, one horse, a donkey, the partridge—a tame one Nico bought for Nina—in a huge wooden cage, and a couple of bags of salt."

Robert Smillie

THE election of Robert Smillie to the British House of Commons after seven unsuccessful previous attempts—with a vote of twenty thousand out of thirty thousand compared with one thousand cast for the head of the Miners' Federation at the last election—is not, perhaps, of particular political significance because the seat was previously held by a representative of the miners, who however was a Liberal. It does mean, however, the accession to the ranks of labor in Parliament of a man of marked personality, large administrative experience and broad social viewpoint. The miners' group in Parliament particularly have for years been lacking in leadership which would give them an influence corresponding to their number. Mr. Smillie, though well off, as such things go in a mining town, still lives in an ordinary little miner's cottage and quite sincerely looks upon his personal success as a victory for the class from which he has sprung. Readers of Survey Graphic may remember Savel Zimand's article on a visit to this labor leader, in April, 1922, in which he quotes him as saying:

> To have lived amongst my people here for twenty-five years and to have been a labor leader, which means to have been watched step by step by my people, and still after all those years to be considered as belonging to them and being one of them, is the greatest thing to me in life.

Mr. Smillie's maiden speech in the House—after a noisy reception in which the wearing and distribution of red flowers by his admirers led to much good-humored banter—characteristically dealt with the subject of the Scottish land settlement scheme. Mr. Smillie charged the government and the former coalition prime minister, who took part in the debate, with disregard of the existing land hunger and their former promises to appease it.

THE year 1923 is marked in India by the election to the Bombay Municipal Corporation of four women members, writes Blanche Watson. Four stood for election and all were elected.

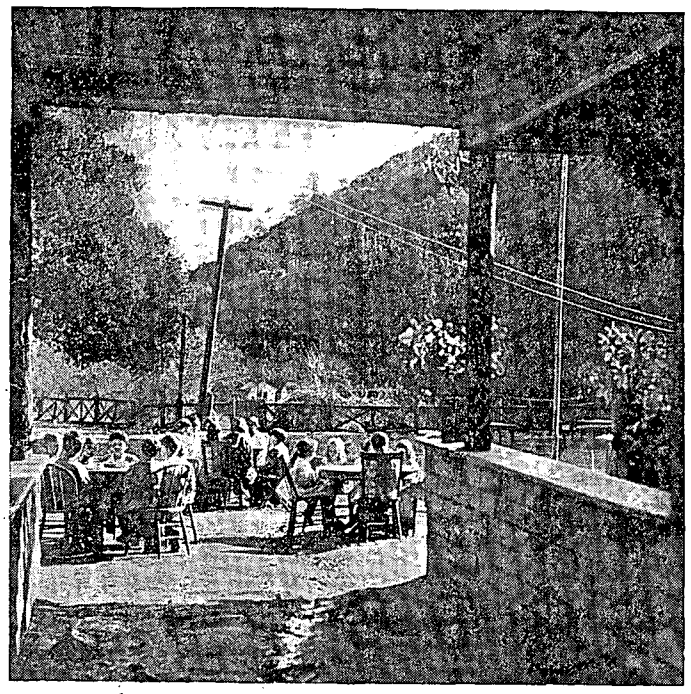
At a public meeting held under the joint auspices of ten women's organizations of Bombay in honor of the new commissioners, the chairman of the Bombay Presidency Women's Council, who presided, said:

> There is greater reason for rejoicing today, because our struggle has not been nearly so hard and laborious as in some European countries. . . . We shall watch your activities with keen interest, and shall be ever ready to support you in your efforts toward the amelioration of city life, especially of the poor.

An English woman, speaking of the chivalry and vision of the men of Bombay, referred to the large number of candidates and the consequent importance of the victory of the women. "No other city in the world can boast of such a record," she declared. She referred to the fact that it was a Mohammedan who was the first to agitate for the removal of the bar against women councillors, only so short a time ago as 1906—seventeen years ago, when the war for women's rights was at its height in England. Miss Lotewalla appealed for a greater measure of women's education so that in the future they might be in a position to secure more seats.

One of the four women elected to sit with the city fathers of this Eastern city was Sarojini Naidu, one of the most prominent leaders of the nationalist movement in India—the one, who, after the jailing of the famous Ali brothers, stood next to Mahatma Gandhi. Mrs. Naidu who, by the way, is a very beautiful woman, is a poet of European as well as Eastern reputation and one of the finest orators in all India. She has a keen mind, courageous as well as eloquent tongue, and intuition which stands her in good stead at a time and in a land where political intrigues are rife. A Hindu, brought up in a Mohammedan community, she has been particularly active in working towards the Hindu-Moslem unity which is one of the four supports of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



A manual training class at the San Francisco Neighborhood Association's health camp

Mahatma's program for Indian *swaraj*—self-government. She is actively and whole-heartedly interested in the youth movement of India, which movement concerns itself with the political as well as the educational aspects of the life of India.

Bombay has set an example that some Western cities may well follow. Women have been saying for some time that the conduct of municipal affairs is but housekeeping on a wider scale. Bombay has decided to give them an opportunity to show what they can do.

THE spirit of charity as it developed through the ages has often found expression in poetry. Though in this poetry there is much spurious sentiment, the fundamental conception has remained a permanent human need and applies to the most modern embodiment of neighborly helpfulness as much as to more distant and, sometimes, discredited forms of charity. Thus the following verses, contributed by Gordon A. Damon, publicity director of one of our most up-to-date social work agencies, the Detroit Community Union, express an unchanging truth:

Charity

I am a father to the fatherless,
I succor those whom Fate hath left to mourn
In helpless poverty and deep despair,
Crushed and defenseless in their hour of need.
I am a rod of strength to those who fall
Unheeded from the scurrying ranks that swarm
Along life's road in quest of happiness;
I give them courage for another trial.
I am the light of hope to those whose faith
Has faltered in misfortune's bitter test;
I am the promise of a better day,
A harbinger of peace and new-found joy.
I am the "friend in need" to every man—
The sick and maimed, the aged and the young;
And none shall ever call on me in vain.
Thus I serve God—My name is CHARITY.

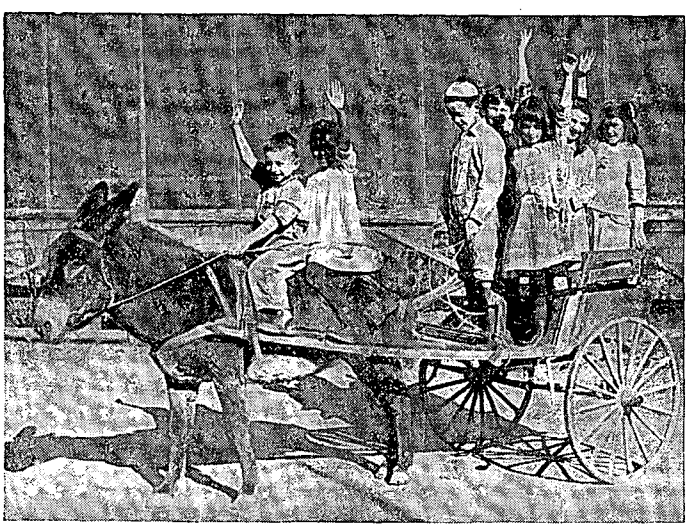
ONE of the most popular visitors from the Far West to social agencies of the east coast this summer was Elizabeth Ashe, the first public school nurse to be appointed in the United States outside of New York City. Miss Ashe is supervisor of the San Francisco Neighborhood Association—an amalgamation of the Telegraph Hill Settlement and People's Place which, since 1919, has engaged in settlement work with larger opportunities. A native of San Francisco, she became interested in religious and charitable activities when a young girl and, to fit herself fundamentally for social work, came to New York and entered nurses' training at Presbyterian Hospital. She became the friend of Helen McDowell of the Henry Street Settlement and there she spent most of her free time studying its methods. This was twenty years ago. On a visit to the American Child Health Association in New York, some weeks ago, Miss Ashe told of her work.

San Francisco was one of the pioneer cities in the establishment of well-baby clinics, she said. The first clinic was opened seventeen years ago by a woman physician, Dr. Florence Holsclaw. Public sentiment was so strong in favor of this work that the city undertook to support it though its management remained in the hands of the Telegraph Hill Settlement where it was started. Now there are nine such clinics, modeled on the first and all supported by the municipality. The city also supports a tuberculosis center in the settlement dispensary.

In view of the frequent criticism that no social good has come out of the San Francisco earthquake and fire in 1906, Miss Ashe's experience to the contrary will be of interest. She says they did more toward bringing all the people together in mutual understanding and sympathy and toward the leveling of social barriers than any other event through which the city has passed:

> It gave our social work a stable foundation and helped us to do really cooperative work. We all suffered together and learned to help those who were in greatest need. Out of the bond of sympathy created at that time, a new era of social consciousness has grown in San Francisco. We have just seen the culmination of this new period of progress in the development of medical social work in our Neighborhood Association and in our new plan of financing social work by means of apportioned funds from the community chest.

At the Washington National Conference of Social Work, Miss Ashe had many private discussions on the community chest—arising in part from a critical article on that subject in the New Republic for May 16. She says:



It's hard to believe that these youngsters were anemic when they came to camp

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Out in San Francisco we are boosters for the community chest. In previous years approximately three thousand persons have supported the city's 92 charities. This year, by means of the community chest drive, $2,150,000 was contributed in ten days by 110,000 persons. We consider this greatly increased number of givers as of even more importance than the increase of funds, for it means a vastly increased interest in the city's social work. Moreover, we feel that much valuable time spent in the past to get money for upkeep can now be devoted to welfare work for the community.

Child health has remained Miss Ashe's principal thought and aim. The Neighborhood Association maintains a health camp with 150 acres of land an hour's ride from San Francisco, in the heart of the redwoods, opened nineteen years ago and now supervised by Dr. William Palmer Lucas, author of the recent book, The Health of the Runabout Child. This camp is for anemic but not for tuberculous children; the Rollier treatment of sun application is given, and all the time of the children is spent out of doors. In ten years there has been no epidemic of contagious disease. Miss Ashe is an enthusiastic dietician and personally supervises the planning of the diets for this camp. She believes that variety of food is all-important in an institutional diet and is proud of her ability to "make plain food taste good," and of the fact that in her camp a cathartic is never required and a case of biliousness unknown.

One remark of Miss Ashe's might be quoted in answer to advocates of expensive institutional buildings who contend that reliance on open-air treatment and the construction of correspondingly small and light cottages means more expensive building later on. She says:

> We have just started to erect a fine new building at the camp; and after fifteen years' use of the old building, we cannot think of any improvements. Our new institution, like the old, will have outdoor dining-room, outdoor sleeping porch and outdoor swimming tank.
>
> How our children, living outdoors, stand the winter? They never have a cold. We don't need to have handkerchiefs on the place!

AMOS W. BUTLER, who recently resigned from the secretaryship of the Indiana State Board of Charities after twenty-five years in that office, had for his predecessors Alexander Johnson and Ernest P. Bicknell. He often says that "it was difficult to keep up the pace set by those two men." From them he inherited an improved system of outdoor relief, the Indiana Reformatory, a law for indeterminate sentence and parole, central supervision of some fifty or more orphans' homes and a department for the welfare of dependent and neglected children. All these things, and other measures, were new, little understood and in some parts of the state bitterly opposed. Mr. Butler, however, did not require more than a few years to get these innovations generally accepted so that he could proceed to other improvements. Many of the public welfare laws of the state in the last quarter of a century were drafted by him or benefited from his suggestions: codification of the poor relief laws, extension of the board of children's guardians law to every county in the state, provision for state care of feeble-minded women, the juvenile court law of 1903, establishment of the Village for Epileptics, the uniform state institution law, the state tuberculosis hospital—in fact, a list that would fill a column of this page.

Amos W. Butler

Mr. Butler, writes a social worker from Indiana, "never looked upon laws as anything but tools. The real work came in their proper understanding and use." This meant not only administrative efficiency but a ceaseless educational activity among public officials, interested citizens, churches and students. The special needs of the mentally diseased and defective have always been of particular interest to Mr. Butler. He suggested the appointment of the state committee on this subject and served as its secretary during the seven years of its investigations. He was a founder of the Indiana Society for Mental Hygiene. He labored for the establishment of a psychopathic hospital and the exclusion of the insane from county jails—measures defeated at the last two sessions of the legislature which will be introduced again.

LATEST reports from Tokyo indicate that after her recent illness and operation Jane Addams is on the way to recovery. A letter from China just received shows that early this summer Miss Addams was as active as ever in social observation and helpfulness to social workers. Mrs. Fisher Burgess, wife of the professor of sociology at Peking University, writes:

> I climbed with Miss Jane Addams and Miss Smith recently to the top of the heights of the Summer Palace. Last evening we had in about a dozen and a half of educators, officials, doctors and the like, to give Miss Addams the chance she covets of coming into close, informal range with Chinese who are really doing things. A lap supper and lantern light put us into the mood for solving any question, however colossal! I need not say what an inspiration she has been to us all. One evening my husband and I took her through the red-light district, and we ended up in the small hours of the morning by seeing China's greatest actor, Mei Lang Fang, who takes women's parts.

Mrs. Burgess is taking a leading part in the studies of social aspects of industry in Peking and Shanghai in which a number of students, American and Chinese, are engaged. The accompanying drawing and poem were enclosed with a letter to an Illinois friend from which we have been permitted to quote the above:

Idealism

"I want to be an angel," was once the lyric cry.
Then let such go be angels. Heaven speed them—but not I!
I want to be a camel and with the camels stand,
With no career, no destiny, no strategic work at hand.

The angels must on missions go, and haste at mercy's beck,
And social service is their forte and flying round like heck;
But camels feel no mighty urge, nor duty's pushing palm.
They never do committee work, nor rush to prayer and psalm.

I want to be a camel and like a camel grace
With majesty and dignity my individual pace;
Oblivious to schedules and to programs I would be,
And wholly deaf to crises and to opportunity;

As to raiment, imperturbable; serene in winter's fur
And calm in spring when off it drops as it moth-eaten were;
Impervious to climate, be it Peking dust or mud:
Ye gods! Grant me a camel's life and time to chew my cud!

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EDITORIALS

NOTHING could more forcibly illustrate the intimate relation of our national government to the welfare of the average citizen and to social engineering than the series of addresses delivered by President Harding during his trip to the port of embarkation for Alaska. If these addresses may be taken as a foretaste of the issues around which the next Presidential campaign will range, it is certain that next to America's international relations, questions affecting the life and labor of the people will predominate. He addressed himself to the subjects of prohibition, farmers' cooperation, the twelve-hour day in industry, immigration, conservation and development of natural resources, and so on. He represents the conservative element in American life, and it is for that reason that many of his speeches gain significance, showing as they do a preoccupation of that as of the other elements with the concerns of the common people.

THE President's speech in Spokane introduced the new conservation policy which, in general, is credited to Mr. Hoover and, according to rumors in Washington, is likely to be made a plank of importance in the next Republican campaign. It is a very logical application of the newer conception of thrift as effective employment of all resources rather than mere saving. The truth of the theory is obvious when non-use actually means deterioration or a mere idleness of resources that could be employed without thereby becoming less available for future use—such, for instance, as water power or arable land. But its application to the exhaustible natural resources, such as minerals, oil, old forests, is not so clear. And yet, there is every reason to believe that a gradual development of the use even of this wealth does not exhaust it, but brings about an economic policy towards it instead of a purely negative policy of saving. For instance, non-use of large areas of national forests will not prevent their eventual exhaustion unless there is constantly applied a sound policy of reafforestation; a gradual exploitation of the forests under a rigid national control exclusively in the public interest will unquestionably give the necessary stimulus to a really big and far-seeing program of forest building.

Of even greater promise is the President's evident desire for a great extension of the operations of the Reclamation Service. The application of wasted water power to wasted land means that the next generation will be able to utilize one of the greatest of America's sources of wealth without diminishing it for subsequent generations. Of course, such a policy, as the President apparently does not quite realize, is in contradiction with the present trend of the American people in regard to immigration. If there is, as many people believe, need to hold up the stream of newcomers until the present population has become more integrated, it is obviously uneconomical to prepare vast areas of arable land that cannot be tilled because of shortage of labor. If, on the other hand, it is wasteful to keep idle America's enormous possession of unused land and unused water power, it must be equally wasteful to keep unused—by keeping outside the country—the human energy that would transform the idle land into fertile fields. The question for America to decide is whether it prefers to let its vineyard lie idle because it is afraid to admit the laborers at the gate who clamor for work and wages—in the hope that at some distant future the owner's family will be grown large enough to do the work itself—or whether the laborers are to be hired for the owner's profit and that of the rest of the world.

COMMENTING upon a newspaper story to the effect that the United States Steel Corporation had decided to start the complete elimination of the twelve-hour shift within six weeks, a prominent director of the Iron and Steel Institute is quoted as saying: "If that expression is used, it is used in the sense of a man who intended to go around the world, making the start next Wednesday. Evidently, he couldn't go around the world next Wednesday. He could make a start on that day, however." Accompanying this guarded interview, comes the assurance that the president of the Steel Corporation is calling into conference the mill foremen from plants where the twelve-hour shift is in force, with a view to finding practical means of replacing the two-shift with the three-shift system.

The greatest difficulty seems to be to find the necessary number of additional men. We have been unremittingly told that the twelve-hour men had a comparatively easy time of it; that the furnaces they serve need attention only once in four hours; and that in the comfortable intervals they sit about playing cards, nibbling sandwiches, reading the news and generally enjoying themselves. It is significant, therefore, that the Steel Corporation makes its promise of reform contingent upon its ability to recruit labor from Mexico, the Philippines, and the Negro belt of our South. It would seem that native Americans are not over-anxious for these leisurely jobs. The long adherence of the corporation to the twelve-hour shift and its persistent hostility to collective bargaining have damaged its reputation with American workmen. The corporation has apparently little difficulty in recruiting labor for those processes that necessitate fair conditions of work. Its shortage of labor is caused precisely by the undesirable conditions which it has allowed to continue for so long.

This vicious circle is obvious. Mr. Gompers, speaking for the American Federation of Labor, declines to take seriously the corporation's announced determination to abolish the long working day. He makes the counter announcement that the federation will press forward its plans for the organization of the steel industry. He believes that the twelve-hour shift will be abolished only when the men

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have won recognition as a union and are in a position to force its elimination.

It is a fact that the corporation has made similar promises before, in tactful deference to public opinion. But in the present instance, we are not disposed to share Mr. Gompers' cynical skepticism. We believe that while the journey around the world, to adopt the illustration used by the director of the Iron and Steel Institute, will not of necessity be completed in a day, the Steel Corporation will make a start next Wednesday—or thereabouts.

The Survey has for years been urging this course upon the steel industry. A lucky trend in immigration or race migration within the United States may for a time overcome its need for labor; but the vicious circle will not be broken permanently until the industry makes a practical demonstration, on a sufficiently large scale to carry conviction, of its determination, in spite of difficulties during the transition period, to compete on American terms for American labor.

IN spite of lessons which we should have learned during and since the war, we are still apt to charge against a whole people the sins of some official temporarily in power, when we should remember that his words may not represent the views of what is often a large minority or even a majority of his countrymen. "We have often been reminded," writes David Starr Jordan, "that there are and were 'two Germanys.' In the words of a German scholar in 1915, 'the one Germany is the loud, blatant group that for the time has control of affairs, the other the Germany you will find when you speak to men in the quiet of their homes.'" So, the president of Leland Stanford University reminds us, there are today two Frances, the one which stakes all on the lawless seizure of German property in the Ruhr, the other which calls for law and justice in foreign relations as well as between man and man at home. The latter view was expressed at the National Peace Congress recently held in Paris. Certain resolutions, proposed by Professor Victor Basch of the Sorbonne, were unanimously adopted. One of these reads:

Whereas, the occupation of the Ruhr, considered as a desperate means to which France has recourse to oblige Germany to pay her obligations, seems contrary at the same time to justice, to the interests and the good name of France and to the cause of world peace;

Whereas, if, in fact, France has incontestable right to the reparation of the damages suffered by ten of her most flourishing departments, the sum of payments imposed on Germany should be related to her power (to pay); the ruin of Germany's well being would cause the greatest prejudice to the well being of France and of the world and the problem, being essentially international, should be studied and settled by an international legal organization;

Whereas, moreover, the occupation of the Ruhr, being essentially an act of war, has excited as a response this passive resistance which, in spite of its dangers, is an evil less than that of actual war; has strengthened the parties of reaction and weakened the supporters of liberal politics; and may if prolonged lead Germany to some irreparable deed of rashness (coup de tête)—which in any case is of the nature to carry the hatred against France to such a point of exasperation that the preparation of a war of revenge, as in 1813, will become the holiest duty of duties of the German citizen, a perspective that the low birth-rate of France renders particularly dangerous for ourselves;

Whereas, finally, the occupation of the Ruhr, and above all, the way in which it has been carried out, with thousands of expulsions, arrests and condemnations of officials and of workmen who had no other fault save that of obeying their legitimate government, has alienated from France the sympathy of her friends and of neutral nations;

We ask that the problem of reparations be submitted to an international commission, particularly to that court of international justice at the Hague created by the Society of Nations, to which the approaching official adhesion of the United States will confer an authority irresistible.

In this connection the cooperation of labor unions, of the press and of the voters in elections was forcibly urged at this French Congress.

NOW turn to Germany, and note these words from the sermon of a well known Lutheran preacher in Berlin:

I have read in the last days, in several journals, that the German people (even as Jesus) were crucified. I have resented this expression as a real blasphemy. The Christ was crucified for the sins of man, and He gave his life to carry his divine message of love. But the German people are suffering for their own sins. They can save themselves only by repenting sincerely and looking towards the cross of Christ.

That day came the news of the shooting of Germans at Essen. In the next sermon this same preacher asked:

What shall we do in the face of these facts? Shall we give ourselves over to the excitement of human wrath? Shall we grit our teeth in an attitude of proud bravado? No, my brothers, such an attitude is sterile and hurtful to our own moral progress.

The Swiss visitor who reports these words says sanely:

The day when all Christians, not only of Germany but of the whole world, will use such language, on that day we shall approach the dream, so far distant, of the universal fraternity of Christians of all countries.

The best hope of Europe in 1918, and the one hope today, adds Dr. Jordan,

is that the honest democrats, the real Christians and the actual lovers of peace on the two sides of the Rhine may, in some way, get together, laying down their arms and referring their difficulties to some impartial tribunal. In this way, and probably in this way only, can either republic be saved. The present war intensifies the danger to both countries from red communism and from the black reactions— in Germany of the Ludendorfs who would set up an empire of the Wittelsbachs, and in France of the Daudets who would revive a kingdom of the Bourbons. And between the two freedom could have no choice.

ALL sorts of lovely schemes have already appeared in the office set up in New York to award Edward W. Bok's generous prize of $100,000 for a practicable plan by which the United States may cooperate with other nations to achieve and preserve world peace. If the donor's object was that of stimulating new thought on that greatest of political issues, no doubt it will eventually prove successful—for none of us sneeze at a compensation for thinking that will make it unnecessary ever to think again for the rest of our natural lives. But in the meantime, the immediate result has been a hasty emptying of old drawers and notebooks, a retyping and mailing of hundreds of high school and debating club essays perpetrated since the middle of 1914 on the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

subject of perpetual peace. Here the snubbed amateur writer on international politics, refused by every editor from the Atlantic Monthly to the Hicksville Weekly Courier, finds his revenge: some one will be obliged to read his effusion. But here also the serious thinker who once upon a time had an idea on this subject but not sense or ability enough to find a market for it is given the chance to have it considered, not by spoofing friends but by serious critics of ideas. And, not to be outdone by Mr. Bok in public spirit, The Survey herewith makes a free gift to prospective competitors for his prize of a choice collection of constructive peace programs made at a time when they were as yet rare and precious. They will be found in the issue of March 6, 1915. It is true, some of the specimens do look a bit dusty and worn; and it is a little difficult to revive the enthusiasm with which we inspected and discussed them at that time. But for all that, may not some master jeweller pick out the gems that have retained their lustre and recombine them in a new setting? At any rate, here is a genuine offer—and no strings attached to it.

"NOT charity but justice," may be said to be the underlying motive of the statement of general principles published by the recently formed American Indian Defense Association. But it is not justice in any futile, abstract sense for which this influential non-partisan, non-sectarian organization is pleading; for already its statement of principles has been followed up by a program embodying these in concrete proposals which will be brought before the next Congress in the shape of bills affecting the property, health, cultural institutions and personal rights of all American Indians. The influence of the California group of friends of Indians may perhaps be discerned in a significant paragraph on education:

> It is the belief of scientists and friends of the Indians that the best education of our Indian wards would be achieved by developing, instead of suppressing, their group loyalties and communal responsibilities. This does not mean that the Indian should not be educated in the arts and sciences of today. It is felt that transformation in habits of life so violent as to undermine the basic virtues of filial respect and of loyalty to old friends and to destroy the family bonds, is bad education.

An industrial organization that would enable the Indians to develop, and enjoy the fruits of, the arts and crafts in which they excel is next advocated. A complete reorganization of the health service is, of course, imperative. And it may be added here that the account of health conditions given in Mr. Collier's article in this issue is conservative compared with the accounts given by many other recent observers. A just system of land tenure is fundamental; the association holds that wherever possible Indian property in land should be entailed:

> The so-called individualization policy applied to land, while beneficent in some instances, has worked havoc among thousands of Indians, and as an absolute policy mechanically executed has been discredited by experience.
>
> Leasing evils and the fraudulent and over-expensive administration of heir-ship lands call for rigid attention.

Extension to Indian farmers of the farm bureau movement and help needed in agricultural organizations; irrigation projects in compensation for water rights of which they have been unfairly deprived; complete religious freedom, with equal opportunity for all churches to make converts without coercive methods; the largest possible degree of self-government, including a voice in the selection of legal counsel, are also demanded. On the question of guardianship, the program says:

> The continued maintenance of guardianship by the United States over the property and persons of the Indians is necessary. But it does not follow that everything done, affecting Indians, should be done exclusively by one bureau of the federal government clothed, as the Bureau of Indian Affairs now is, with arbitrary powers. All resources of the federal and state governments and of welfare agencies should be used for Indians as they are for all other human beings in the nation.

This program, with slight variations, has been adopted also by Section H of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Anthropological Association, the Eastern Association of Indian Affairs and the Santa Barbara Association on Indian Affairs. Several state branches of the National League of Women Voters have committed themselves to the program. In the framing of it, the chairman and research agent of the Indian Welfare Committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs have taken part together with Dr. Herbert Spinden of the Peabody Museum of Cambridge, Mass., and a group of lawyers of national reputation. The National Health Council at its May meeting authorized its business committee to proceed with arrangements for a thorough investigation of Indian health matters. The American Red Cross also is engaged in a survey of Indian health conditions, more especially as regards child care; a part of this study, for the Southwest, is completed, and a report is expected to be issued at an early date. With Secretary Work's return from Alaska, it is expected that his Advisory Committee of One Hundred on Indian Affairs will begin active operations to prepare a legislative program. Thus many and diverse forces throughout the country are being gathered for a supreme effort in the next Congress to undo an ancient wrong.

GRADUALLY the growing movement for the protection of American morals is turning from the most disputed and least justifiable forms of censorship to the real danger points, so far as the larger number, and especially the young, are concerned. It has long been pointed out that there was something irrational in the suppression of books which only very few people could afford to buy anyhow and of plays which only a few thousand in our great cities at most were able to see, when practically in every city and town obscenity is stalking in broad daylight.

The appointment of an arbiter of the outdoor show world by the Showmen's Legislative Committee, with powers similar to those exercised by Will Hays in the interests of the motion picture, reinforces legislation where it decidedly needed strengthening by an appeal to the good sense of the producers themselves. In many states, the traveling carnival and the fair have been more or less cleansed of the most objectionable features, so far as inducement to sexual immorality is concerned. Still it is possible here and there to come across shows "for men only" or dances luridly advertised with big posters that certainly are indefensible. In addition, practically all carnivals have gambling devices, fake and genuine, which, as John J. Birch described them in The Survey for August 15, 1922, are fraudulent and demoralizing—even when the show is ostensibly in aid of some local philanthropy. Thomas J. Johnson, a Chicago lawyer who has been appointed to this new censorship, will watch not only over the sort of shows mentioned but also over other objectionable features, from

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the point of view of morals, that spring up every now and then in carnivals, circuses, amusement parks and fairs. He proposes to exercise this power chiefly by cooperation with mayors and the heads of police departments.

What next? When are the picture postcard and souvenir shop interests going to appoint their arbiter? There will be plenty for him to do.

FOUR HUNDRED Pullman cars, drawn up in the railroad yards of the national capital during the recent convention of the Shriners, provided bed and board for the overflow which hotels and private houses could not take care of. Here was a large-scale demonstration of a need, shown to exist on similar occasions elsewhere, for a new form of accommodation. Every year the size of national conventions of one kind or another increases. The result is that convention cities are often chosen for the size of available hotels rather than for other advantages. Just as it has become necessary to construct automobile camps to take care of transient guests, cities might deliberately develop railroad parks for the parking of Pullman cars in ideal surroundings, with the least possible disturbance of ordinary traffic. Thus a much larger variety of American places of beauty, historical significance or other attractions would become available for convention purposes. With the rapid growth of the convention habit, it may be that some of the more enterprising railroad companies will develop a new type of car especially designed to meet this need, or car-extensions that could be erected temporarily to make more comfortable the occupation of the existing type of Pullman car.

APPARENTLY the League of Nations Assembly will have a hard time next September, when it is scheduled to take up the subject of slave traffic in Africa, to get enough reliable facts on which to base a policy. There seems to be no question that the main source of this traffic is in Abyssinia which, except for the duration of Menelik's reign, has never had a central government that really could impose its rule on the fourteen or so different provinces and their chiefs. William Thompson, in a recent article in the Southern Workman describes Abyssinia as though it were a great Christian nation, "dotted with churches, monasteries and convents." Major Darley, until recently British frontier agent in southern Abyssinia, gives a very different picture. With Menelik's death, in 1912, he says in an interview with the Christian Science Monitor, territories that had been elaborately terraced, irrigated and cultivated have become overgrown, the springs silted up, the industrious populations gone. Asked concerning the truth of a report that a convoy of ten thousand slaves had been seen, he said:

> I can only tell you what I have seen myself, and that is that a column of slaves took four days to pass the spot where I was camped. The men were chained together and the women and children followed as best they could, or fell out. Those who fell out were speared and left.

While there seems to be agreement on the source of this traffic, there is little definite knowledge as to its destination. If ten thousand slaves or even half that number have passed a given point, there must be somewhere a large market. Both the French and the British governments seem to believe that there is an outlet for this North-African slave trade along the east coast—no one knows how far down—but from a comparison of different accounts it seems more likely that the greater market is within Abyssinia itself. An article in the Westminster Gazette, a year ago, stated that in the capital city of that country, Addis Abeba, "there are more slaves than freemen"; that there were slaves within the British legation itself, owned by servants who would not take service unless permitted to bring their chattels with them. But a purely local treatment of the problem by pressure on the part of the League of Nations, as Major Darley proposes—he suggests the appointment of a "commissioner for slavery" to reside in Addis Abeba, with fifty white assistants, also appointed by the League, to be stationed in other parts of the country—is inadequate for two reasons. First, it would be easy for the Abyssinians to prove that a slave traffic is carried on in other parts of the African continent and along the coast of Arabia, sometimes on British and French territory, which the great powers themselves have been unable to suppress, and that they might clean up in their own colonies before playing the part of humanitarians elsewhere. Second, as Major Darley shows, the whole social system of Abyssinia is based on the institution of slavery. If that system is broken down, it would be necessary for the European powers to construct another; and they seem to have no concrete program in that connection.

CERTAINLY, whatever line the League may decide to pursue, it is clear from the experience of the last two decades that merely to chase the slave trader from one port to another is not going to do much good. In Morocco, in French Somaliland, in Portuguese East Africa, in Madagascar, in Nigeria and in the Sudan, slave traders, according to published reports, have been able within the last few years to defy the policing of the European powers. There still are traces of this traffic in Arabia, and the British navy is endeavoring to suppress it on the coasts of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. And one reason for the failure of these many efforts undoubtedly is that the intelligent African or Arab slave trader cannot be convinced of the sincerity of the humanitarian impulse of those who harrass him, so long as labor conditions under their immediate control resemble slavery so closely that they might easily be mistaken for it. Compulsory labor for the government is enforced in practically all African colonies; and only a few years ago Lord Milner defended it in Parliament as well as the pressure put upon natives to work on plantations for white employers. As John H. Harris, the champion of African aborigines, wrote in the Contemporary not long ago:

> The dividing line between forced labor and slavery is a very fine one, and in most colonial territories compulsory labor rests upon some form of domestic slavery.

And in another article he gives at least the direction in which the conquest of this age-old evil must be sought:

> It is the first duty of the administration to eschew "forced labor" and slavery in any and every guise in which it may be presented, and with this, to encourage the indigenous producers by means of secure land tenure, education and instruction in agricultural science, to an ever increasing volume and quality of raw material. Properly led, the African tribes will attain to any height; driven into serfdom, the race will either win freedom or perish.

The question for the League of Nations, so far as Abyssinia is concerned, will be: Shall methods of policing be applied that have failed everywhere else in Africa? Or will the powers give substantial aid to the Abyssinians to carry through large economic, political, educational and social reforms in line with the suggestions of Mr. Harris and those of other enlightened students of the problem?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Harvesters and Hoboes

(*Continued from page 487*)

shop, on the railroad or in road or building construction. Scattering jobs of other kinds and manufacturing plants in some of the towns absorb some men, but the majority have to depend upon the occupations mentioned. In the winter, the woods or migration to a warmer climate is their principal recourse. The more energetic, capable and persistent youths either go to the cities, become farmers or establish themselves in some of the local industries.

Many start out well and promise to achieve an established livelihood but are unable to set their anchors anywhere. The Wisconsin man whose story is told in one of the accompanying boxes has made a game but losing fight for nearly thirty years and is typical of these. Some men fight adversity desperately and rise out of the migratory labor class again and again. Others quit when they suffer the first hard blow. There are many of these among the migratory laborers.

The causes which have made individuals become "the floaters" of our industrial society appear from the men's life stories to be most varied. Our extractive, transportation, and construction industries have, of course, called for great numbers of foot-loose, migrating workmen. There has been a large though highly uncertain market for the migrant laborer's services. The economic demand, however, does not fully explain why the particular types of individuals and the particular individuals are found among the migrants.

Some seem to have answered "the call of the road." Their adventurous natures or restless curiosity created a wanderlust. Many of the migratory laborers interviewed came from very poor homes. They lack proper home training, proper education and occupational training. They are now creatures of circumstance largely because they were never taught how to be anything else. Neither proper preparation for life nor proper guidance and assistance was available to them. Strong men can achieve success in spite of obstacles; those of mediocre ability or less need training and guidance. Many of these men are in the lower levels of intelligence. They particularly needed proper education and vocational guidance. They need occupational guidance today. The work upon which they depend for subsistence can afford steadier employment than it does. Much of the time which they now waste going from locality to locality and industry to industry in search of employment can be saved by more intelligent administration of public employment offices. It is entirely feasible for such offices to work out definite employment cycles for a large number of the migrants that will give them steadier work and make them feel that they are a part of society instead of footballs of fate.

It is frequently said that they don't want steady work. The statement, unfortunately, is true of many. It is by no means true of all. A number of different investigators who have lived the life of the seasonal laborer for a period have found that, regardless of their desires, they could not get steady employment. A careful examination of the life histories of any group of migratory laborers will reveal that in most cases they worked more steadily when they were young than they do now. Regularity and irregularity of working are largely habits, and habits are products of experience.

It is impossible, in my judgment, for the average man to work for a number of years as a seasonal laborer without having his ability and his desire to work steadily disintegrate. This effect of seasonal occupations could be mitigated, however, if a serious effort to that end were made by a well developed public employment service. Decasualization policies have been successfully developed for longshoremen at some port. Decasualization policies can be worked out in the middle and far-west sections of the United States and greatly reduce the evils of the present situation. Of course, the first necessity is a more comprehensive system of employment offices and the development of a research division in them to work out such problems.

There are many types of difficulties to overcome. The habits of the seasonal laborers themselves are fixed. So are those of their employers. Each group has a definite set of attitudes toward the other. The area over which they migrate extends from Chicago to the Pacific Ocean and from Texas through Alberta. Within that general area are many subordinate areas with rather distinct characteristics but with labor demands that overlap in various ways. There is the mining area just east of the Rockies, extending from Montana southward, with Montana, Colorado and Nevada the main centers of three distinct sub-districts. There is the "Southwest" stretching from Texas across Oklahoma, New Mexico, Wyoming, and Arizona. There are the winter wheat and the spring wheat areas, the Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, and Missouri corn belt, and the upper Mississippi lumbering region. The seasons in the industries of these several sections overlap. They are affected differently by prosperity and depression. Particular districts suffer at times from climatic, political or other disturbances. The problems that must be solved, have to be solved continually. They are dynamic problems, ever changing, ever taking new forms. But they are not beyond control.

The Industrial Workers of the World is the only labor organization that has attempted to organize the migratory harvest hands. Their agricultural union No. 400 (now No. 110) was chartered on April 21, 1915, and opened its initial drive for members in the Kansas and Oklahoma harvest of that year. The organizers worked tirelessly throughout the harvest, working northward through Nebraska and South Dakota into Montana, North Dakota and Canada. A large number of recruits were obtained during 1915, 1916, and 1917 but the majority did not maintain their membership steadily. During the war the government crushed the organization work, and since the war Kansas and Oklahoma have suppressed the I. W. W.'s with a strong hand. The Dakotas have been more lenient. I. W. W. headquarters have been maintained at Fargo, North Dakota,

Demoralized by Unemployment

How a Norwegian's work habits became disintegrated

HE came to America when he was twenty-two, having already worked on farms in Norway for four years and been to an agricultural school. In America he got work as a rough carpenter in Sioux City, Iowa, where his sister lived. At the end of ten months he was "laid off" and went to work on a South Dakota farm. The farmer let him go after eight months because winter was approaching. He did the chores on another farm all winter for his board and room. Then he went to Helena and worked for eleven months on three different carpenter jobs. From this time on his jobs were of shorter duration: three weeks at Big Timbers, Montana, working on a flume; a month on a farm; three months farming around Brown's Valley, Minnesota, where I sent him from our office in Minneapolis; two months firing on a boat out of Duluth, one and one-half months on a boat, a month in a factory at Janesville, Wisconsin, and then the wheat harvest. He was only twenty-six when this history was obtained. What will his habits be when he is fifty?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The staff which conducted the investigation of harvest labor for the Department of Agriculture, on which Mr. Lescohier's articles are based. Left to right: Grant Brown, of Illinois; Joseph Dennison, of Iowa; Dan D. Lescohier, of Wisconsin; William Hayes, of South Carolina; Mary Ferguson, of Wisconsin; Frank Fetter, of New Jersey

which have directed their work throughout the Northwest.

The tactics of the "wobblies" are dictated by their revolutionary socialist philosophy. The organization is primarily interested in the overthrow of capitalism. The most effective weapon to that end, in their opinion, is the destruction of profits. Consequently their leaders concentrate their attention upon increasing employers' costs of production. They urge the workers to demand higher wages and shorter hours. They encourage the restriction of output, refusal of employment, and labor turnover. The organization takes a position on the matter of labor contracts that is exactly opposite to that of trade unionism. The trade unions want agreements that will bind employers to specified working conditions for a period of time. The I. W. W.'s oppose labor contracts. They argue that labor should hire out for only a day at a time and should make verbal agreements so that they will be free to wrest better terms from their employers at every favorable opportunity. "Agreements with employers should be kept only so long as it is to the advantage of laborers to keep them."

During the Dakota harvest, I. W. W. organizers swarm in most of the labor distributing centers. Their first concentration point is Aberdeen, South Dakota, through which the men who come up from the southern harvest pass on their way to North Dakota. It is in the center of the South Dakota wheat and the southern base for the North Dakota harvest. Hundreds of I. W. W.'s pour into Aberdeen each year to get control of the harvest situation in that area and to recruit members among the harvesters passing through. The next concentration point is Oakes, North Dakota, a village junction where the harvesters transfer from the Northwestern line to the Northern Pacific. Fargo and fifteen or twenty other railroad centers in North Dakota experience the I. W. W. invasion as the harvest develops. In all these towns the "wobblies" circulate among the harvesters soliciting memberships and urging the men to hold out for higher wages. No matter what wage the farmers offer, the I. W. W.'s insist that the men should receive more. If the farmers concede their demands they immediately make new ones. Their object is not the securing of high wages for themselves as much as it is the raising of labor costs. Of course the rank and file of the membership, who do not understand the philosophies of the organization very well and would join any organization that promised them economic betterment, are interested in the wages as such. But the conduct of the rank and file is controlled by the leaders who are primarily interested in the social revolution.

The I. W. W.'s cause large numbers of men to refuse employment. Harvest towns are frequently swarming with men when nearby farms are losing part of their crops for lack of men. Farmers and townspeople are embittered by seeing two or three hundred men on the streets every day, none of whom will accept work. These men also stimulate labor turnover in harvest crews. Typically, one or two I. W. W.'s will hire out to a farmer who comes to Fargo, Carrington, Lakota, or some other town looking for men. They accept the wages that he offers, go out to the farm and go to work, and then in the evening urge the crew already on the farm to demand higher wages or strike. Much annoyance is caused the farmers, who lose a good many crews each year in this way.

The various communities have developed considerably different methods of dealing with the I. W. W.'s. In Kansas and Oklahoma the organizers are ruthlessly jailed under the anti-syndicalism laws or as vagrants. Even if final conviction does not eventuate, the police are able to keep them locked up until the harvest is finished. In Aberdeen the police, assisted by special deputies, keep the harvest army on the move. They endeavor to prevent individuals from remaining in Aberdeen more than a day or two. Sometimes they do not permit them to remain in town at all, especially men who come in on freights. At Oakes the policy of the village authorities has been to tolerate the presence of idle harvesters in town if they strictly obey the law and do not interfere with men who are willing to go to work. At Jamestown and Casselton they make war upon the I. W. W.'s. At Jamestown the police arrest and drive out of town men found organizing on the streets. Two of the writer's assistants were arrested at Jamestown as I. W. W. organizers because they were observed circulating among the harvest hands and talking to them. A considerable number of men loiter upon the Jamestown streets, however, and interference by the police is intermittent rather than continuous. At Casselton the police have lists of farmers who need men, and if a harvester is idling on the streets of the village he is offered a job on one of these farms by the police. Men who will not accept the jobs offered are advised to get out of town on the next train. If they do not accept the advice, they are liable to be arrested as vagrants. The police meet the freights coming into town and will not permit men to leave them at Casselton unless they are willing to accept work at the wages offered by the farmers. Incidentally, and not accidentally, wages on the jobs offered by the police are lower than those paid by some of the farmers in the Casselton area. To an outsider, the anti-I. W. W. campaign at Casselton seems to be directed at the wage scale rather than at the I. W. W. organization.

It is unfortunate that the first organized effort on the part of the migratory laborers to better their condition should have fallen into the control of an organization that is more interested in socialism than in the welfare of the migratory laborer. Certainly no body of American laborers need organization and effective leadership more than the seasonal laborers. The constructive improvement of their economic status is not being achieved by the Industrial Workers of the World because the organization's chief interest is in future revolution rather than present amelioration.*

* The material for the two articles on the wheat harvest here concluded was gathered by the author while conducting an investigation for the United States Department of Agriculture. Three bulletins are being published by that department which will give a complete statement of the facts gathered:

Harvest Labor Problems in the Wheat Belt

Sources of Supply and Conditions of Employment of Harvest Labor in the Wheat Belt

Conditions Affecting the Demand for Harvest Labor in the Wheat Belt

They can be obtained, when published, from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEXT WINTER'S COAL

(*Continued from page 479*)

ing up since the report of the Roosevelt commission of 1902-03 became the charter of the industry.

To appreciate the force of these eight recommendations, it is convenient to have in mind the main provisions of that charter. It provides that any difficulty or disagreement arising under the award, either as to interpretation or application, which cannot be settled by the superintendent or manager and the miner or miners directly interested, shall be referred to a permanent board of conciliation of six members, one representative of the operators and one of the miners from each of the three anthracite districts. If the conciliation board is unable to decide any question submitted, appeal must be taken to an umpire, appointed on request of the conciliation board by one of the circuit judges of the third judicial circuit of the United States. Although the Roosevelt commission explicitly refused to recognize the union of the United Mine Workers of America as a party to the agreement, the miners have always been represented by the three district presidents, members of and elected under the constitution of the United Mine Workers, and grievances throughout the anthracite field have always been dealt with through regularly designated agents of the union. The Wilson Commission of 1920 approved the request of the United Mine Workers for recognition as party to the agreement, but retained the ruling of the Roosevelt Commission providing for the non-union miners right to appeal to the conciliation board independently of the union. In the current negotiations the United Mine Workers are demanding recognition of the union as the exclusive agency for the handling of all grievances under the contract.

Against this background, the commission makes the recommendations listed in the box on page 479.

Important as these recommendations are in themselves, the conception which permeates them is more important still. In them, the commission recognizes the collective agreement between the operators and the union as the constitution of the industry, and the machinery set up by that constitution as the government of the industry. If the concluding recommendation involving the President of the United States should be adopted and put into operation, it would in effect constitute official recognition of this industrial government as a branch of the national government so far as the anthracite industry is concerned. This, though nowhere explicitly stated, expresses the philosophy underlying the commission's entire report.

The seventh recommendation is also extremely timely and interesting. The establishment of a scientific research organization for the specified purposes within the industry would go far to modernize its government and would heighten its prestige with the public. It would be a great boon to the nation if organizations of this type were established not only in all major industries, but also as permanent adjuncts of the state, municipal and federal governments. Politics might lose its invidious connotation if it approached problems of public policy and administration under the guidance of scientific research.

It is to be regretted that since the commission ventured to step beyond the bounds of its authority as defined in the law, it did not concern itself with a number of the issues in controversy between the miners and operators which may conceivably lead to a strike next September. For instance, the miners contend that since the support of the conciliation and other administrative machinery places a great burden of expense upon the union, and since all workers in and about the mines share in the advantages of this machinery,

The First Labor Bank in New York

The Amalgamated Bank
OF NEW YORK

103 EAST 14th STREET
Corner Fourth Avenue and Union Square

MEMBER FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

RECORD OF GROWTH
April 14, 1923, total resources $747,148.22
July 18, 1923, total resources $2,057,275.38

Deposits by Mail Promptly Attended To

We transmit dollars by mail or cable to Soviet Russia and all other countries, sell steamship tickets, issue drafts and letters of credit to Russia as well as other countries.

We accept time deposit accounts on which we pay 4%, commercial checking accounts, make loans and discounts and offer general banking facilities.

RAYMOND L. REDHEFFER, President
JACOB S. POTOFSKY, Vice-President
LEROY PETERSON, Cashier

OPEN YOUR ACCOUNT TODAY

BANKING HOURS:
Mondays, 9-8. Saturdays, 9-5. Other Days, 9-6.

ARE you going to exhibit at the County Fair? Would you like to have help with your plan? Tell us what you would like to do, send some of your literature and advice on plans with practical suggestions may be had from
STUDIO OF STELLA BOOTHE
131 East 19th Street *New York City*

Hospitals and Institutions

in layout and plans should give expression to the latest medical and social practice.
Advice on plans and operating problems made available through
HOSPITAL AND INSTITUTIONAL BUREAU OF CONSULTATION
HENRY C. WRIGHT, Director
289 Fourth Avenue, New York City

SPEAKERS: We assist in preparing special articles, papers, speeches, debates. Expert, scholarly service. AUTHOR'S RESEARCH BUREAU, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York.

WANTED Copies of THE SURVEY for August 15, October 1, October 15, 1922, January 1 and 15, 1923, February 15, April 15, May 15 and June 15, 1923. Subscribers who do not bind their copies will confer a real favor by returning them for the use of libraries and others who maintain a file for public use. Please mail to THE SURVEY, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Professional Training
in
Children's Work — Community Organization
Family Welfare — Court Work
Medical Social Service — Industrial Relations
Psychiatric Social Work — Extension Education
Immigration Problems

Given at the
School of Social Work
Simmons College
18 Somerset Street, Boston 14, Mass.
1923-24

Exceptional opportunities
for
practice work

PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING COURSES
Courses offered to qualified graduate nurses in General Public Health Nursing, School Hygiene, Tuberculosis Nursing, and Child Welfare Work
at
Missouri School of Social Economy—conducted by—
The University of Missouri.
For information write the Director, Public Health Nursing
2338 South Broadway St. Louis, Mo.

Recreation Training School of Chicago
Training for leadership in Recreation. One and two year course.
Special course in Dramatics. Summer Courses.
Write for circular
800 S. Halsted St. (Hull House) Chicago

The Allen School-Social Science
Correspondence courses for social workers in sociology, poor relief, child welfare, rural social work, industrial relations, immigration, community service, criminology, psychology and history. Diploma for two years course. Credit toward bachelor's degree. Students begin any time.
Write for catalogue to
Henry M. Allen, A.M., Principal
Allen School, Auburn, N. Y.

Best Sellers
Twenty books (out of 200) which were most in demand at The Survey Book Stall during the National Conference of Social Work. A valuable selection for all who are interested in social work and social thought and their essential backgrounds. Descriptive list free for the asking. Make your summer reading worth while. The Survey, 112 East 19 Street, New York City.

all of them ought to belong to the union and share the burden. While they agree that there should be no taxation without representation, they also contend that there should be no representation without taxation. They contend further that since the union has for twenty years negotiated and executed the collective contract, the operators should accord the union full recognition. Upon these questions the commission is silent, except for its recognition of the union as party to the contract and a few hackneyed and practically irrelevant observations about the legal right of a man to work free and unimpeded, to employ and discharge as he please, and more to the same effect. There is a rhetorical unreality about such phrases—as about the *obiter dictum* that "both sides must, peaceably and voluntarily if they will and under compulsion if they will not, deal with each other in the light of the general welfare of the American people"—which detracts from the dignity of the report as a whole. Since the manifest intention of the commission is to strengthen the collective organization of the industry as the best guarantee of continuous production, it might have been expected to express an opinion on issues of grave and immediate practical consequence, as well as upon subjects which, however important in the long run, are pretty certain at this juncture to be regarded by the operators and miners as more or less academic.

For this omission, however, the commission makes large amends by including in this preliminary report elaborate data upon wages, cost of living, prices, costs of production, and kindred matters, all of which should prove of great value to the operators and miners in their pending negotiations, as well as to the public in appraising the merits of the controversy upon which peace in the industry hangs. Whatever practical influence public opinion may exert upon the outcome of this controversy, as well as upon the action of Congress with respect to the commission's recommendations, will depend upon its assimilation of the facts which the commission has collected. For this reason it is obviously of pressing importance not only that the commission should stimulate and guide public opinion by issuing its findings currently and in such convenient form as to make them widely accessible, but also that it should make its recommendations to Congress the basis of public hearings for the essential illumination of the public mind.

INDUSTRIAL TECHNIQUE AND SOCIAL ETHICS

(*Continued from page* 494)

tion. Thinking persons experience no great difficulty in disposing of the former method. It is so patently not a remedy, not a solution, but merely an evasion and a concession to promote peace. The inhabitants of the realms of pure idealism, and it is these who first try the methods of compromise and concession, are likely to fall far when they lose their grip; not infrequently do they continue to descend until they have discarded their pure idealism for the gospel of despair. Because they are persons of such high motives they cannot be ignored. Sadly enough, many of them are lost entirely; experiences in the technique of revolution often lead them to a complete abandonment of all attempts at improving life. All of this belongs to the philosophy of so-called radicalism. What really is important is to indicate why the revolutionary extreme is little better than sentimental compromise.

We are not confronted with a choice between the two alternatives; that of despotic almsgiving which impoverishes the worker's mind, or that of violent revolution in the interest of a preconceived and ready-made system of life. Nor, must we choose between the "red star of Trotzky" and the "black shirt of Mussolini." All of these methods

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

represent an over-simplification of human nature. We must dig deeper. Neither the sentimental nor the revolutionary viewpoint is scientific. The chief difficulty with radicals is that they are not sufficiently radical, they do not go far enough toward the roots of the situation. They are not scientific. No one can be scientific and at the same time be an ardent propagandist for *a priori* schemes of reorganizing life. The two viewpoints are antithetical. Socialism, communism, syndicalism are useful as ideals; they do very little to help us out of our ethical dilemma. To hold to an ideal and to proselytize others to accept the ideal when there is no opportunity or means of giving the ideal an empirical test is likely to be worse than not possessing an ideal. This sounds dangerously like an argument against all ideals as such. It is intended to be quite otherwise. It is proposed as a means towards discriminating selection of ideals. The bitterness between and in the radical groups is an indication of the emotional and non-scientific nature of their ideals. The very emotional tenacity with which certain so-called radicals hold to their ideals precludes scientific experimentation.

Whenever this point in reasoning is reached the argument always appears: But, we must have enthusiasm and emotion in order to hold us to our ideals; in order to furnish us with the power to persist. Yes, but the enthusiasm and emotion and loyalty should never be fastened on ends. There is no driving power in truth achieved but there is unending power in the achieving of truth.

The true radical is the scientist. He deals with things as they are. He goes to the roots. Courageous flights of imagination he needs, but his conclusions are never labeled law, or principle or truth, until they have passed through the rigorous tests of experience. If once this idea were grasped what centuries of suffering might be averted! If only we could come to see that "finding things out" is more progressive and more dynamic than "putting things over" we might some day achieve a science of human nature which would provide us with an orderly social process.

Science is a method and not a body of facts. Facts change and are relative, and no one appreciates this more than the true scientist who feels his way forward tentatively and patiently. This statement is a preface for what is to follow, because it is not assumed that science has a patented solution for the industrial problem. This article is more an appeal for the scientific method applied to human affairs than an exposition of scientific achievement. May we then, tentatively and in the spirit of adventure, suggest an approach to the industrial conflict from the viewpoint of science:

First: The scientific viewpoint invites us to eliminate prejudicial emotionalism from the idea of conflict. Conflicts are not in and of themselves bad, or immoral, or unethical. They simply are. Life is conflict. The whole concept of life as adjustment implies that there is a resisting force or object to which the organism must adjust itself. The adjusting process may produce either good or bad results, but this does not imply that the conflict itself is inherently either good or bad.

Second: The scientific viewpoint asks us to investigate this adjusting process minutely. What is it that happens when an organism adjusts itself to its environment? Is it the organism acting upon the environment, or the environment acting upon the organism? Obviously, it is both. The organism is changed but the environment is also changed. The process is one of interaction, and not simply action and reaction.

Third: The scientific viewpoint indicates that no significant adjustments are made until conflict appears. This does not mean that life is all conflict., Nor does it mean that life is all cooperation. Life is adjustment, and conflict and co-

THE PENNSYLVANIA SCHOOL
OF
SOCIAL AND HEALTH WORK

First Term: 1923-1924
Public Health Nursing Department opens September 4
All other departments open September 17

One-year course of post-collegiate standard for exceptionally qualified students
Two-year course for students with less preparation

Interesting new provision for training for case work with children

Special preparation for family case-work, medical social work, school counseling, group and community work, social research, public health nursing.

Send for new Bulletin to
THE REGISTRAR
339 SOUTH BROAD STREET
PHILADELPHIA

The Fall Quarter begins October first. Thereafter the school's courses and field work will be planned to receive new entrants quarterly instead of twice yearly. This will allow greater flexibility in planning one's training. Under the Four Quarter Plan, the student who wishes to work without interruption can complete the requirements for the school's diploma in six Quarters. This permits a shortening by three months of the period heretofore required. Send for a complete *Announcement*.

The New York School of Social Work
107 East Twenty-Second Street
New York

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF HOSPITAL SOCIAL WORKERS—Miss M. A. Cannon, president, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City; Miss Lena R. Waters, executive secretary, The Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, Md. Organization to promote development of social work in hospitals and dispensaries. Annual meeting with National Conference of Social Work.

AMERICAN CHILD HEALTH ASSOCIATION (formerly American Child Hygiene Association and Child Health Organization of America)—Headquarters, 532 17th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.; Administrative Offices, 370 7th Ave., New York. Herbert Hoover, pres.; L. Emmett Holt, M.D.; Livingston Farrand, M.D.; Thomas D. Wood, M.D.; 1st, 2nd, 3rd vice-presidents, respectively; Corcoran Thom, treas.; Philip Van Ingen, M.D., sec'y. To promote health among children from conception to maturity—this to be accomplished through cooperation with parents, doctors, nurses, teachers, and other health workers; by dissemination of scientific information and teaching methods in schools, through conferences, addresses, pamphlets, publicity material, and a monthly magazine, "Mother and Child." First Annual Convention, Detroit, October 15-16-17.

AMERICAN COUNTRY LIFE ASSOCIATION—K. L. Butterfield, president; Henry Israel, executive secretary. Room 1849, Grand Central Terminal Bldg., New York City. Emphasizes the human aspect of country life. Annual membership $3.00 includes "The Country Life Bulletin."

AMERICAN HOME ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION—Miss Lenna F. Cooper, sec'y; Battle Creek Sanitarium, Battle Creek, Mich. Organized for betterment of conditions in home, schools, institutions and community. Publishes Journal of Home Economics. 1211 Cathedral St., Baltimore, Md.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY—Founded 1828, labors for an international peace of justice. Its official organ is the Advocate of Peace, $2.00 a year. Arthur Deerin Call, secretary and editor, 612-614 Colorado Building, Washinpton, D. C.

AMERICAN PRISON ASSOCIATION—Annual Congress of American penologists, criminologists, social workers in delinquency. Next Congress Boston, Massachusetts, September 13-19, 1923. E. R. Cass, general secretary, 135 East 15th Street, New York City.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE CONTROL OF CANCER—Frank J. Osborne, exec. sec'y; 370 Seventh Ave. New York. To disseminate knowledge concerning symptoms, diagnosis, treatment and prevention. Publication free on request. Annual membership dues, $5.00.

AMERICAN SOCIAL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION—370 Seventh Ave., New York. To promote a better understanding of the social hygiene movement; to advance sound sex education; to combat prostitution and sex delinquency; to aid public authorities in the campaign against the venereal diseases; to advise in organization of state and local social-hygiene programs. Annual membership dues $2.00 including monthly journal.

THE CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA—C .C. Carstens, director. 130 E. 22d Street, New York City. A League of children's agencies to secure improved standards and methods in their various fields of work. It also cooperates with other children's agencies, cities, states, churches and other groups to work out worth-while results in phases of child welfare in which they are interested.

COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN—305 W. 98th Street, New York. Miss Rose Brenner, pres.; Mrs. Harry Sternberger, ex. sec'y. Promotes civic cooperation, education, religion and social welfare in the United States, Canada, Cuba, Europe.
Department of Immigrant Aid—799 Broadway. Mrs. S. J. Rosensohn, chairman. For the protection and education of immigrant women and girls.

COMMUNITY SERVICE—315 Fourth Avenue, New York City. A national civic movement for promoting citizenship through right use of leisure. It will, on request, help local communities work out leisure time programs. H. S. Braucher, secretary.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA—Constituted by 30 Protestant denominations. Rev. Chas. S. Macfarland, Rev. S. M. Cavert, gen'l sec'ys; 105 E. 22nd Street, New York.
Commission on the Church and Social Service—Rev. Worth M. Tippy, exec. sec'y; Rev. F. Ernest Johnson, research, sec'y; Agnes H. Campbell, research ass't; Inez M. Cavert, librarian.

HAMPTON INSTITUTE—Trains Negro and Indian youth for community service. Advanced courses: agriculture, builders, business, home-economics, normal. Publishes "Southern Workman" and free material on Negro problems. J. E. Gregg, principal.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS—First appointed 1854, located New York City 1866, incorporated 1883. Headquarters office, 347 Madison Ave., New York City, N. Y. Tel. Vanderbilt 1200. Branch offices, Chicago, Atlanta, Denver. Chairman, James M. Speers; Treasurer, B. H. Fancher; General Sec'y, John R. Mott. The Committee maintains a staff of executive and traveling secretaries for service in the interests of the Young Men's Christian Associations at home and abroad.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON METHODS OF PREVENTING DELINQUENCY—Graham Romeyn Taylor, executive director, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York. To promote the adoption of sound methods in this field, with particular reference to psychiatric clinics, visiting teacher work, and training for these and similar services; to conduct related studies, education and publication; and to interpret the work of the Commonwealth Fund Program for the Prevention of Delinquency.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LEGAL AID ORGANIZATIONS—Officers: President, Albert F. Bigelow, 111 Devonshire Street, Boston; Secretary, John S. Bradway, 133 South 12th St., Philadelphia; Chairman of Executive Committee, Leonard McGee, 239 Broadway, New York. This organization was formed in 1912 as a national association of all legal aid societies and bureaus in the United States to develop and extend legal aid work. Copies of Proceedings at convention in December 1922, including report on relation between social service and legal aid, may be had on request.

NATIONAL BOARD OF THE YOUNG WOMENS CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS—Mrs. Robert E. Speer, president; Miss Mabel Cratty, general secretary, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City. This organization maintains a staff of executive and traveling secretaries to cover work in the United States in 1,152 local Y. W. C. A.'s on behalf of the industrial, business, student, foreign born, Indian, Colored and younger girls. It has 174 American secretaries at work in 55 centers in the Orient, Latin America and Europe. The National Board also maintains a National Training School of graduate type at 135 East 52nd Street, New York City, for the professional training of its leadership. The training is given in two parts. The preliminary course consists of six weeks of lecture work (generally given in the summer session) and nine months practical experience on salary under supervision. The advanced course requires a full year of resident academic study, upon the successful completion of which a professional certificate is granted. Special emphasis is placed upon training in group work.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE COUNCIL—1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.
General Secretary, Rev. John J. Burke, C.S.P.
Departments—Education, Laws and Legislation, Social Action. Press and Publicity. Lay Organizations (National Council of Catholic Men and National Council for Catholic Women.)
National Catholic Service School for Women, 2400 Nineteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE—Owen R. Lovejoy, sec'y: 1 East 104th Street, New York. Industrial, agricultural investigations. Works for improved laws and administration; children's codes. Studies health, schools, recreation, dependency, delinquency, etc. Annual membership, $2, $5, $10. $25 and $100; includes monthly bulletin, "The American Child."

NATIONAL CHILD WELFARE ASSOCIATION, INC.—Chas. F. Powlison, gen. sec'y; 70 Fifth Ave., New York. Originates and publishes exhibit material which visualizes the principles and conditions affecting the health, well being and education of children. Cooperates with educators, public health agencies, and all child welfare groups in community, city or state-wide service through exhibits, child welfare campaigns, etc.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE—Dr. Walter B. James, pres.; Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, med. dir.; Dr. Clarence J. D'Alton, executive assistant; Clifford W. Beers, sec'y; 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City. Pamphlets on mental hygiene, nervous and mental disorders, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, inebriety, criminology, psychiatric social service, backward children, surveys, state societies. "Mental Hygiene," quarterly, $2.00 a year; "Mental Hygiene Bulletin," monthly, $ .25 a year.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK—Grace Abbott, president, Washington, D. C.; W. H. Parker, secretary, 25 East Ninth Street, Cincinnati, Ohio. The Conference is an organization to discuss the principles of humanitarian effort and to increase the efficiency of social service agencies. Each year it holds an annual meeting, publishes in permanent form the Proceedings of the meeting, and issues a quarterly Bulletin. The fifty-first annual meeting of the Conference will be held in Toronto, Canada. Proceedings are sent free of charge to all members upon payment of a membership fee of five dollars.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS—Edward M. Van Cleve, managing director; Lewis H. Carris, field sec'y: Mrs. Winifred Hathaway, sec'y; 130 E. 22nd St., New York. Objects: To furnish information, exhibits, lantern slides, lectures, publish literature of movement—samples free, quantities at cost. Includes New York State Committee.

NATIONAL CONSUMERS' LEAGUE—44 E. 23rd St., New York. Mrs. Florence Kelley, gen'l sec'y. Promotes legislation for enlightened standards for women and minors in industry and for honest products; minimum wage commissions, eight hour day, no night work, federal regulation food and packing industries; "honest cloth" legislation. Publications available.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS—Robert A. Woods, sec'y; 20 Union Park, Boston. Develops broad forms of comparative study and concerted action in city, state and nation, for meeting the fundamental problems disclosed by settlement work, seek the higher and more democratic organization of neighborhood life.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING—Member, National Health Council—Anne A. Stevens, R.N., director, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York. For development and standardization of public health nursing. Maintains library and educational service. Official Magazine, "Public Health Nurse."

NATIONAL PHYSICAL EDUCATION SERVICE—309 Homer Building, Washington, D. C. To obtain progressive legislation for physical education. Established at the request of a committee created by the United States Bureau of Education; 35 national organizations cooperating. Maintained by the Playground and Recreation Association of America.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SURVEY'S DIRECTORY

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE—For social service among Negroes. L. Hollingsworth Wood, pres.; Eugene Kinckle Jones, exec. sec'y; 127 E. 23rd St., New York. Establishes committees of white and colored people to work out community problems. Trains Negro social workers. Publishes "Opportunity"—a "journal of Negro life."

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION—Anna A. Gordon, president; Headquarters, 1730 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Illinois. To secure effective enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, to advance the welfare of the American people through the departments of Child Welfare, Women in Industry, Social Morality, Scientific Temperance Instruction, Americanization and other allied fields of endeavor. Official publication "The Union Signal" published at Headquarters.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE—Mrs. Raymond Robins, honorary president; Mrs. Maud Swartz, president; 311 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill. Stands for self-government in the work shop through organization and also for the enactment of protective legislation. Information given.

PLAYGROUND AND RECREATION ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA—1 Madison Avenue, New York City. Joseph Lee, president; H. S. Braucher, secretary. Special attention given to organization of year-round municipal recreation systems. Information available on playground and community center activities and administration.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION LEAGUE—To secure representation for all. C. G. Hoag, sec'y, 1417 Locust St., Philadelphia. Membership, $2.00, entitles to quarterly P. R. Review.

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION—For the Improvement of Living Conditions—John M. Glenn, dir.; 130 E. 22nd St., New York. Departments: Charity Organization, Child-Helping, Industrial Studies, Library, Recreation, Remedial Loans, Statistics, Surveys and Exhibits. The publications of the Russell Sage Foundation offer to the public in practical and inexpensive form some of the most important results of its work. Catalogue sent upon request.

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE—An institution for the training of Negro Youth; an experiment in race adjustment in the Black Belt of the South; furnishes information on all phases of the race problem and of the Tuskegee idea and methods; Robert R. Moton, prin.; Warren Logan, treas.; A. L. Holsey, acting sec'y, Tuskegee, Ala.

WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA—Spencer Miller, Jr., sec'y; 465 W. 23rd St. A clearing-house for Workers' Education.

MILLIONS have been spent on the investigation of wages, living conditions, hog cholera and a hundred other matters. Now we must spend a few on man himself, to find out what are his possibilities. Such study is not only to make men live ten years longer on the average, which has already been accomplished, but to show how to make those ten years, or any ten years, *worth living*. Dr. Frankwood S. Williams, of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, points the way to the enormous possibilities which lie in the study of Mental Attitude as a Factor in Social Progress.

The Survey
112 East 19 Street, New York City

Thank you for the extra ten years. Now tell me what to do with them. Send me The Survey and send me a bill: One year $5.00; six months $2.50.

Name.....

Address.....

operation are parts of the adjusting process. Conflict and cooperation are not antithetical qualities or quantities placed over against each other; they are merely two ways of viewing the life process.

Fourth: Adjustment always takes place in parts and not in wholes. That is, the organism does not adjust itself completely to the total environment, but rather adjusts a portion of itself or a part of its function to a portion or a function of the environment. The total environment is involved in each adjustment and must eventually become a part of the total adjustment, but the total adjustment is a building up of minor adjustments.*

This is perhaps sufficient for a beginning. Now comes the adventure! Is it possible to view the industrial conflict from the above-stated standpoints of science? And, does such a viewpoint clarify the issues? I can now only speak for myself and that small group which shares with me this view, but from so narrow a platform I can unhesitatingly say that the viewpoint is not only possible, but that it carries with it a new hope and a new faith for mankind. I must speak tentatively, for the above principles are by no means true principles in that they have been verified on the social level. I only claim that they have validity in general for science, and that they must now be validated on the social plane. Studies now under way are beginning to give proof of their applicability, but how far these studies are to be fruitful and enlightening must be deferred until a later date. They are here treated as mere analogies which they still are, but analogies which if verified point to such promising fruits that the time has come to share the adventure with others. What are the results of this viewpoint in relation to our theme—group adjustments within the industrial technique? The contending parties to the conflict now enter upon the difficult problems of adjustment, not with hatred, bitterness and determination that one side or the other shall be vanquished, but rather with heads up and spirits high to give integrity to their interests. I had an experience of this not long ago at a meeting of the executive committee of the Texas Cotton Growers' Association in which two apparently mutually exclusive solutions were debated fruitlessly until the conflict was integrated by means of a new and creative solution which constituted a re-solution of both conflicting solutions.

Facts are not gathered and used for the purpose of proving one side wrong and the other side right; facts are now jointly gathered and jointly used to assist in making the adjustment. "Power over" is gradually altered until it becomes "Power with." Education and intelligence and character come to have real meaning since we now make our contribution to the adjusting process, not in proportion to our brute strength but in proportion to knowledge, wisdom and truth. We do not grasp control from each other according to the accidental shifts of power, but we share control according to our intrinsic worth. We are no longer measured by the mathematical yard-stick of majorities and minorities, but by the spiritual values of personality. Substance and energy now wasted on propagandist methods of blind revolution and homeopathic remedies will be saved for the difficult tasks of minute adjustments. We may still retain our allegiance to the high ideals which embody and envisage the perfected whole, but our courage will come from actual achievements in parts. We shall see the whole more clearly because we are actually engaged in its building.

(*Continued on page* 512)

* As an illustration of what is meant by "adjustments of parts" one might review the Treaty of Rapollo. Germany had been making adjustments to parts of the economic system of Russia, and when this fact reached the point by which such adjustments might be facilitated by political recognition, the then foreign minister of Germany, Walter Rathenau, effected a treaty which represented a larger adjustment. The failure of the Allied statesmen to recognize this plain fact led to a most unfortunate international episode which has caused infinite harm to the totality of international relations.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

RATES: Display advertisements, 25 cents per agate line, 14 lines to the inch. Want advertisements, 8 cents per word or initial, including the address or box number, for each insertion; minimum charge, $1.50. Discounts on three or more consecutive insertions. Cash with orders. Copy for the next issue should be in by August 4th.

Address Advertising Department **THE SURVEY** 112 East 19th Street New York City

WORKERS WANTED

An Exceptional Opportunity for experience in a generalized nursing service is available for a limited number of well qualified nurses. Those who have had some public health training are preferred, although recent graduates from good schools, who have had at least a full high school education, will be considered. Salary — First two months at rate of $1,400; next four months $1,500; after six months $1,600; and at beginning of the second year $1,700. Credit will be given, and the salary adjusted, for nurses who have had a recognized course in public health nursing. Apply to Miss Grace L. Anderson, Director East Harlem Nursing and Health Demonstration, 354 East 116th Street, New York, N. Y.

THE Jewish Board of Guardians, an organization dealing with behavior problems, has openings for case workers, men and women, college education and training or experience in psychiatric social work preferred. Write to Mr. Jess Perlman, 356 Second Avenue, New York City.

WANTED: Two parole officers, $900 a year and maintenance. Apply Superintendent, New York State Reformatory, Bedford Hills, N. Y.

WANTED: Dietitian to take charge of Department of Home Economics of a Jewish Family Welfare Society in a large eastern city. Fair salary. 4550 SURVEY.

NURSES, Surgeons, Physicians, Masseuse, Matrons, Dietitians, Companions and attendants, positions everywhere. Exchange Directory, 25 Sacramento St., Cambridge, Mass.

KINDERGARTNER wanted in a Children's Institution in Brooklyn, New York. 4531 SURVEY.

JEWISH WOMAN of education, refinement and ability as house mother to twenty-five children in modern cottage home. Address, Superintendent, 2700 Raynor Ave., Baltimore, Md.

GRADUATE NURSES, dietitians, laboratory technicians for excellent hospital positions everywhere. Write for free book now. Aznoe's Central Registry for Nurses. 30 N. Mich. Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

WANTED: Three workers. A nurse anaesthetist. A worker for aftercare in infantile paralysis cases. A vocational worker for shut-in patients. The Toledo District Nurse Association, 1903 Monroe Street, Toledo, Ohio.

WORKERS WANTED

EXPERIENCED CLUB LEADERS wanted for adult groups. Opportunity for service and financial reward. 4561 SURVEY.

WANTED: Case Supervisor Louisville Family Service Organization. Large staff, training center School Social Work. Constant improvement in content and scope of work. Unusual opportunity for applicant: good personality with executive and good family case work experience. Apply Linton B. Swift, 215 East Walnut Street, Louisville, Kentucky.

WANTED: Man and woman to conduct a home for boys in a Southern city. Average of 30 boys, ages from 10 to 16. Dependents and milder types of delinquents. Salary $100.00 per month and maintenance for couple. State in application education, vocational history, age, religion and other pertinent details. 4563 SURVEY.

WANTED: For Southwestern Jewish Center of Baltimore experienced case worker capable of community leadership. Resident position. Well organized district committee. Apply with full details concerning education, training, experience, and salary expected to Hebrew Benevolent Society of Baltimore, 411 S. Fayette Street, Baltimore, Md.

COOPERATIVE PLACEMENT SERVICE. Social workers, secretaries, superintendents, matrons, housekeepers, nurses, dietitians. Miss Richards' Bureau, Box 5, East Side, Providence, R. I.

ASSISTANT HEADWORKER wanted in well organized Settlement in Eastern city. 4552 SURVEY.

YOUNG WOMAN, resident worker to take charge of House of Detention with average daily population of thirty boys and twenty girls, staff of seventeen. Social training and experience prerequisite. 4569 SURVEY.

CASE WORKER with some training and experience wanted by Family Social Work Agency in Pennsylvania industrial city. 4571 SURVEY.

WANTED: Trained and experienced Social Service Worker for general secretary in newly organized Family Case Work Agency in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Salary moderate. 4565 SURVEY.

WANTED: Man between 25 and 30 who speaks Yiddish; understands Jewish psychology; has friendly personality; some experience in social work preferred, to work in California with Jewish inmates of State institutions. Salary to begin $2,100. Advancement. 4572 SURVEY.

WORKERS WANTED

MEDICAL SOCIAL WORKER wanted by Jewish Organization for social care of sick in large City hospital. Worker must have medical and social training and experience and be a graduate nurse. Salary $1800. Address Director, Free Synagogue, 36 West 68th St., New York.

WANTED: October first, assistant head worker in well established settlement in mid-western city. Western woman preferred. 4573 SURVEY.

SITUATIONS WANTED

MAN and WIFE experienced in institutional work, both sex, desire situation. Woman, Cottage Matron and supervisor with modern ideas of correction and uplift. Man, teacher of printing, with teacher's certificate, also capable musical instructor: band, orchestra, light musical productions and minstrel entertainments. Highest credentials. 4560 SURVEY.

PUBLIC Health Nurse, with over three years' experience in Public Health Nursing, eight months' special course at Teachers College, good executive, capable, systematic, desires position as managing secretary of Health Center, or similar position. Excellent references, good health. Available September first. 4558 SURVEY.

REGISTERED NURSE with social service training, experienced organizer in public health, hospital social service and tuberculosis work, desires permanent position. 4548 SURVEY.

CASE WORKER (Jewish) with seven years' training and experience in Family Case Work and Community Work, desires position with an Industrial Concern or as Case Work Supervisor by October first. 4562 SURVEY.

STATISTICIAN, available soon. Fifteen years' experience in organization, administration, field and office statistical research in Federal, State and Municipal departments. 4564 SURVEY.

THOROUGHLY trained social worker, years' experience in child welfare, settlement head, case supervisor, red cross executive, presently connected, desires change. Higher credentials. 4559 SURVEY.

SOCIAL Worker with two year's experience with delinquent girls, desires position as case worker in Boston, September 25. 4557 SURVEY.

WANTED: Position as housemother in sorority house of college by September. Best of references. 4556 SURVEY.

WANTED: Position as professor or instructor of Sociology. Specialist in Social Research, M.A. degree. Six years' experience. A-1 references. Address, Box 1238, Richmond, Va.

YOUNG MAN, now Social Director of large Association, wishes connection with social, recreational or industrial organization. Wide experience. 4568 SURVEY.

PUBLIC HEALTH NURSE, seven years' experience, all branches, available September first. 4566 SURVEY.

(In answering these advertisements please mention THE SURVEY. *It helps us, it identifies you)*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SITUATIONS WANTED

FINANCIAL SECRETARY: Appeal organizer, committee organizer, or any field work of similar character; Englishwoman desires position. American and English references. 4570 SURVEY.

CHILD WELFARE WORKER with experience North and South will make a change in the fall. Would consider position in West Virginia or Western Virginia. Best of references. 4574 SURVEY.

TEACHERS WANTED

TEACHERS Wanted for colleges and universities. American College Bureau, Chicago Temple, Chicago; 1254 Amsterdam Ave., New York.

PERIODICALS

Fifty cents a line for four insertions, copy to remain unchanged.

BOYS' WORKERS ROUND TABLE; Quarterly; $1.00 per year. A Magazine of Applied Ideals in Boycraft. Published by the Boys' Club Federation, 3037 Grand Central Terminal Bldg., New York City.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NURSING shows the part which trained nurses are taking in the betterment of the world. Put it in your library. $3.00 a year. 19 W. Main St., Rochester, N. Y.

MENTAL HYGIENE: quarterly: $2.00 a year: published by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York.

CURRENT PAMPHLETS

Listings fifty cents a line for four insertions, copy to remain unchanged.

FOR A LABOR PARTY, Recent Revolutionary Changes in American Politics. A Statement by the Workers Party. Workers Party of America, 799 Broadway, New York. Price 15 cents.

CREDIT UNION. Complete free information on request to Roy F. Bergengren, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

TEN-CENT MEALS by Florence Nesbitt, 44 pp. (10 cents). HOW JOHN AND MARY LIVE and Save on $35 a Week—a weekly budget plan (10 cents); Weekly Allowance Book (10 cents). Am. School Home Economics, 849 East 58 St., Chicago.

RUSSIA TODAY AND TOMORROW. A special issue of Survey Graphic in which the Russians themselves tell of the trend in proletarian culture, education, industry, drama, literature, etc. 30 cents a copy. The Survey, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y.

WELFARE FEDERATIONS, by Edward T. Devine, contributing editor of The Survey. A reprint of four articles from The Survey. How Not To Do It: Philadelphia—The Mid-West Spirit: Louisville—Where It Works: Cleveland and Detroit—The National Agencies: General Considerations. Price 50 cents; 3 copies $1; 25 copies $6, postpaid. The Survey, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y.

FINANCIAL FEDERATIONS, by William J. Norton, director of the Detroit Community Union. A reprint in handy pamphlet form of a series of articles published in recent Midmonthly issues of The Survey. Price 25 cents; 6 copies $1; 25 copies $3; postpaid. The Survey, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y.

Printing
Multigraphing
Typewriting
Mailing

Better, Cheaper, Quicker

We have complete equipment and an expert staff to do your

Mimeographinp
Multigraphing
Addressing
Mailing

If you will investigate you will find that we can do it better, quicker and *cheaper* than you can in your own office.

Let us estimate on your next job

Webster Letter Addressing & Mailing Company
34th Street at 8th Avenue
Longacre 2447

Fifth Avenue Letter Shop, Inc.
16 W. 23rd Street
Multigraphing Typewriting | GRAmercy 4501 | Mailing Addressing
Ask The Survey about Us!

FOR SALE

FOR SALE: 6 "Kardex" visible card index cabinets (capacity 1000 cards each) with stand. Cheap, either as a whole or one or more cabinets. New condition. 4567 SURVEY.

Bind Your Issues

Our binder makes a book of The Survey. Put in each issue as it comes. Take out any issue at any time without disturbing the others. So simple that even a social worker can do it! Index free at the end of the volume, running six months. By return mail anywhere in the U. S. A. $2.20. The Survey, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

ENCYCLOPEDIA
at Cut rate

New, unused set of the Encyclopedia Americana, 30 volumes, authoritative, illustrated. Bound in stout Fabrikoid.
Publisher's price $210
OUR PRICE $150
Plus express from New York
Box 4484, THE SURVEY,
112 East 19th Street New York City

HOTELS & RESORTS

TASHMOO INN
Island of Martha's Vineyard,
Vineyard Haven, Mass. Surrounded by green lawns and gardens, overlooking Vineyard Sound. Accommodates 100. Bathing, Boating, Riding, Golf, Tennis, Fishing. Season, June to October.
Folder and rates on request.

WHITE MOUNTAINS — Attractive home for limited number of guests, all conveniences, home cooking, magnificent scenery; also furnished house to rent; ½ mile to stores, movies, etc. Arthur H. Furber, North Conway, N. H.

COUNTRY BOARD

SUMMER BOARD Delightful Spot in Green Mountains ½ mile from P. O. Excellent table. Terms reasonable. Mrs. C. R. FORD, Sharon, Vt.

REAL ESTATE

To Rent, Adirondack Mts., Lake George. Well furnished cottages with all modern improvements. Electric lights, etc. A. B. LEOTAUD, 137 Glen Street, Glens Falls, N. Y.

LIVE STOCK

"Strong Heart" Police Dogs

"Character plus Appearance"
You can pay more but you *can't* get a better dog.
SUN BEAM FARM
STRONG HEART KENNELS
New Brunswick, Eastern Turnpike, New Jersey

FOR THE HOME

Tea Room Management
In our new home-study course, "COOKING FOR PROFIT." Booklet on request.
Am. School of Home Economics, 849 E. 58th St., Chicago

MSS. WANTED

EARN $25 WEEKLY, spare time, writing for newspapers, magazines. Experience unnecessary, details Free. Press Syndicate, 964, St. Louis, Mo.

STORIES, POEMS, PLAYS, etc., are wanted for publication. Submit Mss or write Literary Bureau, 509 Hannibal, Mo.

MISCELLANEOUS

SHAKESPEARE REVIVAL!
Play the game *"A Study of Shakespeare"* and improve your knowledge. Highest endorsement. Price 50 cents. The Shakespeare Club, Camden, Maine.

"Home-Making as a Profession"
Is a 100-pp. ill. handbook—it's FREE. Home study Domestic Science courses, fitting for many well-paid positions or for home-making efficiency.
Am School of Home Economics, 849 E. 58th St., Chicago

BUY YOUR BOOKS
from
THE BOOK DEPARTMENT
of
SURVEY ASSOCIATES, Inc.
We specialize in books on social, civic and economic subjects, but we handle all current publications

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books on International Relations

THE following list of books on international relations was made up by the Foreign Policy Association in response to many requests for suggestions which it received from its members:

An Introduction to World Politics: Herbert Adams Gibbon. Price $4.00

Round Table Conferences of the Institute of Politics, 1921: Edited by W. W. McLaren. Price $4.00

Causes of International War: G. Lowes Dickinson. Price $1.00

The Prevention of War: Philip Henry Kerr; and A British Outlook on International Problems: Lionel Curtis. In one volume. Price $2.50

The Great Illusion: Norman Angell. Price $1.50

The Fruits of Victory (sequel to The Great Illusion): Norman Angell. Price $3.00

The Economic Consequences of the Peace: John Maynard Keynes. Price $2.50

A Revision of the Treaty (a sequel to the above): John Maynard Keynes. Price $2.00

The Next War: Will Irwin. Price $1.50

Disenchantment: C. C. Montague. Price $2.00

Cross-Currents in Europe Today: Charles A. Beard. Price $2.50

Europe in Convalescence: Alfred E. Zimmern. Price $2.50

America and the Balance Sheet of Europe: Bass and Moulton. Price $3.00

The Decadence of Europe: Francesco Nitti. Price $3.00

The Conduct of American Foreign Relations: John Mabry Mathews. Price $3.00

The Control of American Foreign Relations: Quincy Wright. Price $3.25

History of the Latin American Nations: W. S. Robertson. Price $4.00

Mirrors of Moscow: Louise Bryant. Price $2.50

Whither France—Whither Europe? Joseph Caillaux. Price $2.50

Problems in Pan-Americanism: Samuel G. Inman. Price $2.00

American Diplomacy: C. R. Fish. Price $3.00

The New World: Isaiah Bowman. Price $6.00

Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement: Ray Stannard Baker. In three volumes. Vol. 1, Price $5.00; Vol. 2, Price $5.00; Vol. 3, Price $10.00

International Relations: James Bryce. Price $2.50

Public Opinion: Walter Lippman. Price $2.75

Entente Diplomacy and the World: B. de Siebert and G. A. Schreiner. Price $9.00

Any or all of the books listed above will be sent by return mail postpaid by The Survey. Make your Summer reading worth while.

BOOK DEPARTMENT, THE SURVEY

112 East 19 Street, New York City

INDUSTRIAL TECHNIQUE AND SOCIAL ETHICS

(*Continued from page* 509)

Social ethics will not be this or that dogmatic and traditional affirmation, but it will become the emerging reality, the technique of our evolving adjustments.

It is plainly evident that my enthusiasm runs high, and it is to me as plainly evident that I must check myself before I too become a propagandist. But, I am not proposing a scheme or a plan for the regeneration of industry and society; I am merely proposing a method of approaching the problem, and I do so with the full assurance that progress comes through new method and not through new facts or new results. Ends never justify means. Ends are insignificant save as they are related to creative means.

What I have indicated above is being approached in numerous ways. The impartial chairman who sits as arbitrator between employers and workers has gone part of the way. Industrial democracy ventures in individual industries where employes share portions of control with employers are leading in a similar direction. However, the real fruits of these experiments are likely to be lost unless we begin to see them as steps in an evolutionary process. They are too often regarded as expediencies for avoiding conflict rather than the media for bringing essential conflicts into the progressive and creative stream. Much of the machinery of these experiments is exceedingly cumbersome, and many decisions are still reached by the traditional and juristic methods of precedent or by majority votes. Very little ingenuity has been displayed thus far in discovering new forms of social organization for arriving at real consent. But, in so far as these experimentations supplant intelligence for force and coercion, they are scientific and fruitful and hence progressive.

Industrial technique controls natural forces. Social ethics control human forces. Both sets of forces are natural, and the only valid distinction is that one set of forces is without and one within. It has so happened in the rapid rise of industrial technology that its control has become well-nigh supreme. Society takes its cues from industry. Groups form about economic interests, interests which they pursue in opposition to social ethics, or under a form of conduct which leaves other groups discontented and in a warring mood. As a result we live in a civilization which is fundamentally dishonest, a civilization in which men assert principles of ethics in which they claim thorough belief but which they claim to be unworkable; a civilization in which there is one mode of behavior for the home and another for the factory; a civilization in which human personality is glorified on Sundays in churches and degraded on weekdays in stores and workshops. This conflict between techniques and ethics goes even farther; it lies at the bottom of our international dissensions. We believe in peace, but we participate in activities which inevitably lead to war. We believe in international cooperation but sanction high tariffs. We long for world democracy but practise individual autocracy. We give enthusiastic support to a League of Nations but leave our immediate neighbors in splendid isolation. Either our beliefs, our ideals and our ethical standards are false, or we are a dishonest people. So far and so deep has an anomalous industrial technique sunk into our very souls. Our protestations of idealism are as sounding brass and tinkling cymbals unless they are translated into action.

There is no easy way to redemption. Industrial technique must become ethical, and social ethics must become technical. The process is not simple. Good will and straight thinking, character and science are destined to be our chief tools, and we must use them well for our civilization has nothing else upon which to stand or go forward. The alternative is disintegration and decay.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Are You Happy?

ASK a hundred people what they want most in the world and the answer is likely to be—Happiness. To some, Happiness is represented by riches or fame. To others, leisure spells Happiness. But all agree that there can be no real Happiness without Health.

Summer is the time to build for Health and Happiness—the time of vacations. Long days to rest in—to play in—to dream in.

Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn were the ideal vacationists. They took a vacation whether they needed it or not—and had *fun*.

—This is what a real vacation means. To vacate your old environments, your regular occupation—your everyday self and have a complete change. To do the things that will fill you brimful of energy and "pep".

In planning your vacation—and of course you will take one—try to get away from the things you have been doing all year and do the opposite.

Wisdom of the Wizard

Thomas A. Edison is one of the hardest and happiest workers in the world. Year after year he has burned up energy at a rate which would have killed most men. In rendering a wonderful service to the world, he has not spared himself. Daringly he has shattered many of the accepted laws of health by unceasing devotion to his work. And yet he has kept himself strong and well—despite his seventy-odd years—by taking the right kind of vacations to restore the strength he so lavishly expends.

The Postman Does Not Need a Walk—

He needs a hammock and a lazy time. The town man needs the quiet of the country—the country man needs the stimulus of the town. The mountaineer needs the ocean—the lowlander needs the hills. Women who keep house should board—and girls who never see a kitchen throughout the year should camp out and get their own meals.

One man needs solitude—another needs company.

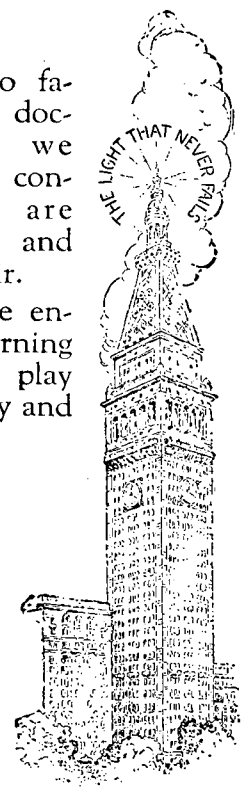
Think of your own needs and plan the vacation that will do you most good.

New ideas—new scenes—new people—all this is recreation. And recreation is necessary to Health and Happiness. Joy, pleasure, laughter are mental stimulants. They increase the flow of blood and so aid in the first work of building up the body and repairing wasted tissues.

Miracle-Workers—

There are two famous health doctors whom we advise you to consult. They are Dr. Sunshine and Dr. Fresh Air.

If you want more health, more energy, more enthusiasm, more earning power in the days to come, play hard this month of August—play and be happy.



During the past few years a great new movement has been growing all over the country—the movement to provide recreation and outdoor amusements for the thousands of men, women and children who live in towns, villages and thickly populated cities. This vacation movement has been carried along by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. In 1922 many of our district managers arranged jolly old-fashioned picnics for their local policyholders.

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company is so strongly in sympathy with this movement that it has prepared a booklet, "What One Town Did", that tells just how to go about the work of providing adequate recreation centers.

Please send for it and help enlist the interest of your neighbors in plans for building health in your town.

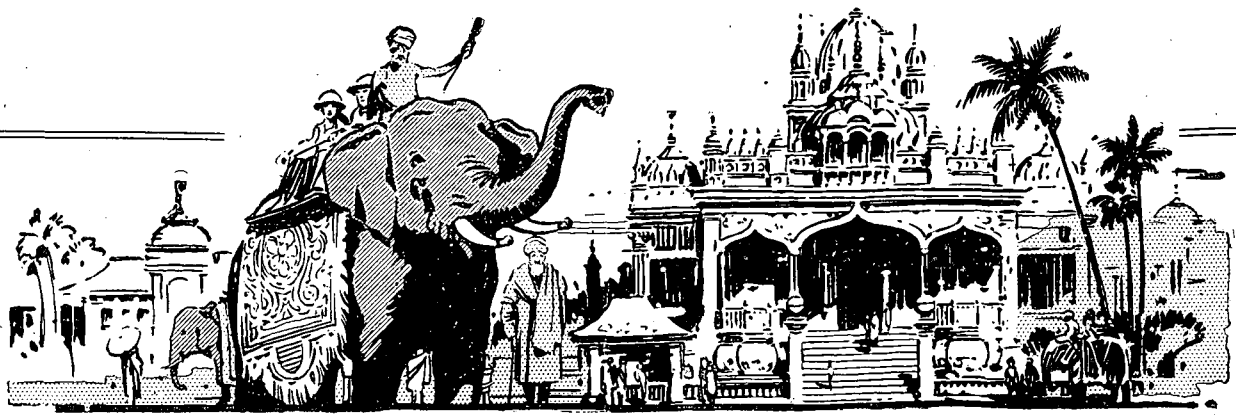
HALEY FISKE, *President.*

Published by

METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY—NEW YORK

Biggest in the World, More Assets, More Policyholders, More Insurance in force, More new Insurance each year

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Cruising 'Round the World

Make the Dream Come True

GOING Around the World is more or less of a dream to most people. Everybody has it. Everybody expects it to come true some day. But the idea is so full of the unknown, so imaginary, so adventurous, so wonderful, that to most people it remains a dream.

Make the dream come true.

Under the experienced management of the American Express Travel Department a cruise around the world is a very practical possibility—easily arranged, easily financed. It is the most *real,* the most stimulating, the most luxurious experience of a lifetime.

It is so easy to make the dream come true.

Consider the coming Cruise of the Cunarder FRANCONIA. Built especially for long distance cruising, and just launched, the FRANCONIA is the last word in modern ship construction. Safe and speedy—a floating palace of luxurious recreation—a fine and comfortable club with every convenience and refinement suggested by 80 years of Cunard experience—and with perfect management and ship discipline at sea.

Under charter of the American Express Travel Department, the FRANCONIA sails from New York November 15th—returning March 27th. 30,000 wonder miles leisurely covered in 133 never-to-be-forgotten days. Carefully planned shore excursions from all ports of call included in initial cost. Special inland trips optional. Itinerary includes—*Havana, Panama Canal, San Francisco, Hilo, Honolulu, Japan (13 days—Yokohama, Kamakura, Tokyo, Kobe, Kyoto, Nikko, Inland Sea, Miyajima), Shanghai, Hongkong, Manila, Batavia, Singapore, Rangoon, Calcutta, Colombo, Bombay, Port Tewfik, Cairo, Naples, Monaco, Gibraltar—and home.*

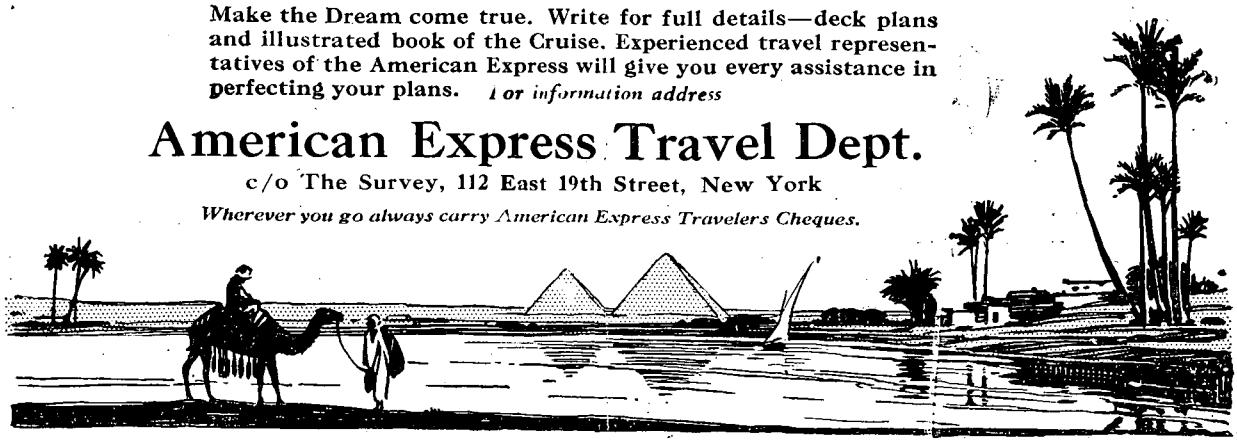
The Franconia Party will be limited. *Reservations should be made now.* Interest in World Cruising has been so stimulated by the success of last year's American Express' World Cruise that an early closing of bookings is indicated.

Make the Dream come true. Write for full details—deck plans and illustrated book of the Cruise. Experienced travel representatives of the American Express will give you every assistance in perfecting your plans. *For information address*

American Express Travel Dept.

c/o The Survey, 112 East 19th Street, New York

Wherever you go always carry American Express Travelers Cheques.



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED